

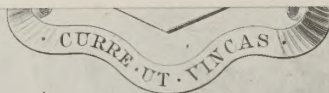
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FACSIMILES  
OF  
THE CREEDS

FROM EARLY MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

A. E. BURN, D.D.

WITH PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

THE LATE DR. LUDWIG TRAUBE.

London :

HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,

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## PREFACE.

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THE task which I have attempted in this book of facsimiles has grown more serious during the past eight years. It sprang from a desire to collect some photographs of early MSS. of the *Quicumque uult*. While I was puzzling over *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. i. 15, it was my good fortune to obtain an introduction to Dr. L. Traube. His interest in the photograph led him to write his most suggestive article *Perrona Scottorum*.<sup>1</sup> Everyone who knew him personally found a fascination in his treatment of the subject of palaeography, which has been too often at the mercy of theorists, who possessed neither his mastery over details nor his sure grasp of principles. He was qualified to be a pioneer in the laying of foundations of what is still a new science. When he consented to write palaeographical notes for this book it entered on a new phase of potential usefulness. Despite increasing weakness he took an interest in it to the end of his life. His heirs and his literary executor, Dr. P. Lehmann, have been most kind in putting at our disposal all his papers which had reference to the subject.

In Dr. Traube's own words, palaeographical notes on a collection of photographs made to serve other than palaeographical ends must be something of a *tour de force*. But many of the MSS. in question are of more than average palaeographical interest, and some of them have not been reproduced in any collection of facsimiles, so it seemed worth while to take the risk of producing a book without much unity from the palaeographical point of view. The venture has been justified, as I believe, by the interest and importance of Dr. Traube's discussions of at least three of the MSS., *Cod. Einsidlensis*, 199, *Cod. Paris. lat.* 13246, and *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. i. 15.

My own notes on the historical interest of the creed forms published in facsimile (with two exceptions) for the first time<sup>2</sup> are of necessity brief. My theories about the more obscure forms are only put forward as working hypotheses until the evidence is better explained by some other. We must be content to let many problems in the history of the creeds remain unsolved for the present, but we shall make no progress unless some theory is provided by which to test the facts collected, or to point in the direction in which new facts may be searched out.

Each group of MSS. has been selected with reference to some problem. The MSS. of the Apostles' Creed have been chosen to throw light on the history of the *Textus receptus*. In the Creed of Cyprian of Toulon, I shall exhibit a pure Gallican Creed, then an Anglo-Saxon recension of the Old Roman Creed, then different stages of approach to the final form

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, 1900, iv, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon published a woodcut of the first words of the *Quicumque uult* in *Cod. Petriburg.*, Q. I. 15 (*de re diplomatica*, ed. 1789, i, 366). Swainson published a copy of one page of *Cod. Ambros.*, O. 212 *sup.* (*Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, 1875, i, p. 534.)

adopted in the West, ending with the Creed of Priminus which is the first dated occurrence of the completed form.

The history of the Latin text of the Creed of the Council of Nicaea is less important than the history of the later so-called Constantinopolitan Creed, the Latin versions of which open out an almost unworked field of enquiry. The MSS. which I quote, apart from their palaeographical interest, are important links in the chain of evidence which connects the Constantinopolitan Creed with the Church of Jerusalem.

With the third group of MSS. we enter upon the debateable ground of the Athanasian Creed, more accurately described as the *Quicumque uult*. It may be hoped that this collection will give the *coup de grâce* to the theory, which is hard to kill in England, though it has been pronounced dead in Belgium and Germany,<sup>1</sup> that no MS. of the Creed in its present form is of earlier date than the ninth century. Through the kindness of M. L. Delisle, Vice-President of the Society, who was the first to call attention to the MS., I am able to publish the text found in a MS., which was presented by Bishop Leidrat to the Altar of S. Stephen in Lyons with an autograph inscription. Leidrat resigned his see in A.D. 814. As M. Delisle points out, this *terminus ad quem* in the case of one MS. may be of great assistance in enabling us to date others more confidently. In fact we need not hesitate to accept the palaeographical arguments by which the other MSS. are assigned to the eighth, or even (in the case of the Milan MS.) to the seventh century. Incidentally the photograph from St. Petersburg turns out to be that of a MS. lost from St. Germain-des-Près, and Dr. Traube has confirmed the opinion of its first editor, Mabillon, as to its date, besides making it the starting point of his enquiry into the handwriting of the monks of Péronne.

I hope that the new light which these facsimiles throw on obscure passages in the history of the Creeds will be held to justify the expense of their publication and the labour and care which has been expended on them. I am in no way responsible for the prolonged delay in obtaining a photograph from Cologne, which prevented Dr. Traube from finishing his part of the work. But I am most grateful to the Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society for their long patience as well as to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Turner for much help in the progress of the work; to Mr. Turner also for his valuable note on Cod. Colon. 212.

I wish also to thank Mr. J. P. Gilson, of the British Museum, for kindly undertaking the difficult task of the transcription of the photographs and for relieving me of the burden of responsibility.

A. E. BURN.

<sup>1</sup> Art. *Athanasianum* in Hauck's *Encyclopädie*, Loofs; *Le Symbole d'Athanase*, Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1901.



# HISTORICAL NOTES.

## I. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### § I.—INTRODUCTION.

The history of the Apostles' Creed has attracted much attention during the past thirty years, and the literature of the subject is increasing rapidly, especially in Germany. But it has seldom been remarked that the work of the veteran pioneer, Professor C. P. Caspari, of the University of Christiania, found stimulus in the work which Professor Heurtley had already begun at Oxford in the publication of his *Harmonia Symbolica*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Heurtley's book included some important facsimiles of creed-forms, and thus opened the way for the present volume, the plates of which after the lapse of nearly half a century have been printed at the same University Press.

The subject falls into two main divisions, the history of Origins, and the history of the Received Text. The dividing line may be drawn at the year A.D. 400, which is the approximate date of the famous Commentary on the Apostles' Creed in which Rufinus of Aquileia compared the Old Roman Creed to the creed of his native city. The work of Rufinus is the starting point of modern investigation. He wrote at the end of the century in which Christianity became a permitted religion, and Christian Creeds, for the first time, were brought into the light of day, though in many quarters the prejudice against writing them down still existed. With the history of Origins we are not concerned. A general survey of the subject may be found in Harnack's article *Ap. Symbolum* in Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie* (ed. 3), or the present writer's article *Creeds* in the forthcoming edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Our present concern is with the history of the Received Text.

When we pass the year A.D. 400 we feel that a new era has begun in the history of the world. We are face to face with the tide of barbarian invasion, and must soon meet with the problem of missionary work among uncivilised Teutonic tribes, which is the ultimate cause of the survival of our Received Text and of its triumph over other forms. In the fifth century there were many Gallican, Italian, and African creed-forms of the same general type, of which the Old Roman Creed, quoted by Rufinus, is the most important specimen, as it is in all probability the archetype. For the sake of clearness I will quote the Old Roman Creed side by side with the *Textus receptus*, and for the sake of brevity shall hereafter quote them as R and T.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, 1875, p. 5, having acknowledged his own debt, pointed out Dr. Caspari's frequent references to the work of Dr. Heurtley. The well known *Bibliothek der Symbole*, which has been edited by Dr. A. Hahn and Dr. G. L. Hahn, was first published in 1842, but it has always differed from the work of Heurtley and Swainson and Caspari as being a work which does not deal at first hand with new MSS. Within its own limits it is indispensable, and should be used with the monumental work of Dr. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, 1894.

## Old Roman Creed = R.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.
2. Et in Christum Iesum Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine,
4. qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus,
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit in caelos,
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris
8. unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. Et in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam,
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem.

*Textus receptus* = T.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *creatorem caeli et terrae*.
2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex* Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus* et sepultus *descendit ad inferna*,
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*,
8. *inde* uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
9. Credo in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam, sanctorum communionem*,
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem *et uitam aeternam*.

The variations found in T are not all of equal importance. Some are more or less accidental, like the substitution of *inde* for *unde* (*ὅθεν*). But the final solution of the problem of the origin of T can only be found by tracing out the history of each new phrase. At this point it is important to remark that *creatorem caeli et terrae*, *passum*, *mortuum*, *catholicam*, *sanctorum communionem* were found before A.D. 400 in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, and we shall find the remaining additions of T united in fifth century Gallican Creeds. Separately, of course, these additions have an even higher antiquity. Thus *descendit ad inferna* goes back to the fourth century Creed of Aquileia, and *et uitam aeternam* was in the African Creed of Cyprian in the third century.

With these words of preface we may pass on to the consideration of an important Gallican Creed which has recently come to light.

## § 2.—CODEx COLON. 212 (Darmstad. 2326).

The letter of Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon, to Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, was first published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epp.*, iii, p. 434, by Dr. Gundlach.<sup>1</sup> It is found on fol. 113b of this MS. Cyprian wrote to defend his use of the expression "the God-man suffered." To our advantage he quotes the first two divisions of his creed. We are thus able to confirm the evidence of the creed-form extracted from Ps. Aug. Sermon. 244, which has been ascribed to Caesarius of Arles. Cyprian asked that an answer might be sent to him through Caesarius, with whom he was in communication. Although Cyprian does not quote the third division of the creed we can restore it with confidence from the Creed of Caesarius which at this point is confirmed by the evidence of Faustus of Riez. Such a restoration of the South Gallican Creed includes two points, which are of some importance. (i) The threefold

<sup>1</sup> Attention was called to an interesting quotation of the Te Deum by Dom G. Morin (*Rev. Bén.*, 1894, p. 49), and to the creed-form of Cyprian by the present writer (*Guardian*, March 13th, 1895).



repetition of *Credo* was common Gallican usage. This adds to the artistic character of the form, and Faustus seems to have the balanced rhythm in mind when he writes of *Symboli salutare carmen*. (ii) The omission of the words *maker of heaven and earth* is very marked throughout early Gallican Creeds. If T was formed after a Gallican model it seems strange that it possesses neither of these characteristics. The omission of *ad inferna descendit* by Cyprian is of less importance. It occurs in a fifth century sermon which may be connected with Lerins.<sup>1</sup>

## Cyprian of Toulon.

- I. 1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.
- II. 2. Credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius unigenitum Dominum nostrum,
3. qui conceptus de Spiritu sancto natus ex Maria uirgine
4. passus sub Pontio Pilato et crucifixus  
\* et sepultus \* \* \*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
6. ascendit in caelos
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris
8. inde uenturus iudicaturus uiuos ac mortuos.

## Caesarius.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.
2. Credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum
3. conceptum de Spiritu sancto natum ex Maria uirgine
4. passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum mortuum et sepultum, ad inferna descendit
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
6. ascendit in caelis
7. sedet in dexteram Patris
8. inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos.

## Faustus of Riez.

- III. 9. Credo et in Spiritum sanctum
10. sanctam ecclesiam sanctorum communionem
11. abremissa peccatorum
12. carnis resurrectionem uitam aeternam.

9. Credo in Spiritum sanctum
10. sanctam ecclesiam catholicam communionem sanctorum
11. remissionem peccatorum
12. resurrectionem carnis et uitam aeternam.

## § 3.—CODEX BERNENSIS, N. 645.

The contents of the MS. are of a geographical or chronological character. The creed-form to which our attention is called is preceded by the Easter cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, and a catalogue of Church provinces made in Gaul. It is followed by the forged Acts of a supposed Synod of Caesarea, which were probably written in Britain during the controversies concerning the keeping of Easter in the seventh century. The provenance of the MS. is probably Gaul. Mr. Turner called my attention to a note, fol. 41  $\frac{b}{1}$ , which he found when he

inspected the MS. in 1900<sup>2</sup>,  $\frac{1}{AN}$  XV REGN CAROLI RG = A.D. 782. But the documents collected in it, which point to Britain as the country of their origin, leave us equally free to regard Britain as the possible home of the creed-form. This hypothesis is confirmed by the interesting resemblances which appear in it to the creed-form in *Cod. Laudianus*. In Art. 9 both forms show the ablative  $\overline{spu} \overline{sco}$ , in Art. 10 *sancta ecclesia*, in Art. 12 the genitive (*carnis*)

<sup>1</sup> *Auscultate expositionem*, published by the present writer in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, July, 1898.  
Letter of 21st August, 1900.

resurrectionis.<sup>1</sup> The *Cod. Laudianus* was brought to Britain before the beginning of the eighth century, and its creed-form represents the normal type of Old Roman Creed, used by Augustine and other Roman missionaries. The form before us in *Cod. Bernensis* may very well represent this same type slightly modified, under the influence of Celtic Creeds, by the addition of *passus, descendit ad inferos, catholica, in uitam aeternam*.

Kattenbusch<sup>2</sup> has called attention to the fact that the same creed-form, without *in uitam aeternam*, is found in an ancient sermon in *Cod. Monac. lat.* 14508 of the tenth century from St. Emmeran in Regensburg, which I published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xix, p. 186. He connects it with the Celtic missions in Bavaria, and there is nothing improbable in the view that a Celtic monk may have carried it with him to the Continent. But we cannot speak very definitely about the provenance of the sermon because I can now quote other MSS. of it which deserve examination, the earliest being *Cod. Barberini*, xiv, 44, *saec.* ix.<sup>3</sup> While we suspend judgment as to the history of the sermon in which the creed-form was so widely distributed, there is no need to modify our judgment regarding the origin of the creed-form itself. It is out of touch with the line of development followed either in Gaul or Italy. But we can easily explain both its origin in Britain and its transit through Germany to Bavaria or Switzerland.

Dr. Bratke's theory<sup>4</sup> that it represents the ancient form of the Gallican Creed as it existed before A.D. 400 is not borne out by the evidence.

#### § 4.—THE GALRICAN SACRAMENTARY.

The so-called Gallican Sacramentary in *Cod. Paris. lat.*, 13246, *saec.* vii, is really a missal, and is but a mediocre witness of Gallican usage in spite of its antiquity. It is often called the Missal of Bobbio, but opinions are divided as to the origin of the liturgical collection contained in it.

Dom Cagin (*Paléographie musicale*, v. 96–184, 1896) maintained that it contained a Roman Missal of the fifth century brought by Columban to Bobbio, which had probably been sent to the Britons at the time when enquiries were made about the Liturgy; secondly, Columban's additions, *e.g.*, a Mass in honour of S. Michael to be connected with the grotto on the right bank of the Bobbio. But Dr. Traube suggests that Dom Cagin's assumption has been disproved by Duchesne, Lejay, and Morin. Dom A. Wilmart speaks of the MS. as a Gallican witness with traces of Irish influence.<sup>5</sup> For my present purpose it is immaterial whether the mixture of Hispano-Gallic, Roman, and perhaps other elements and rites, which it contains, were combined in Bobbio or in the mother house of Luxeuil, in the diocese of Besançon.

In either case we are brought into touch with the life work of S. Columban, the great leader of the Celtic missionaries who at this period travelled across Europe until they came

<sup>1</sup> This was originally a grammatical error, but tended to become a distinct reading *carnis resurrectionis uitam aeternam*, Book of Deer, *Cod. Sangallensis*, 188, *Sacr. Gallic*, Form C.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, ii. 748 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cod. lat. Monac.*, 3909, *Cod. Sangallensis*, 676, *Cod. Leidensis*, xviii. Q. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, i. pp. 153 ff.

<sup>5</sup> F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. ii (fasc. xv), col. 961.



into touch with the remnants of the old Latin Christianity of the Danube. In his very suggestive article *Some Creed Problems*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Barns has called attention to a fact which is probably the missing link in the evidence relating to the formation of T. The words *creatorem caeli et terrae* are first found in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, and in a contemporary creed preserved in some Arian fragments belonging to the same district bordering on the Danube. They are not found in the pure Gallican type, and the crux of the investigation of the history of T has been to find the source from which they may have come into it. S. Columban and his companion S. Gall were welcomed on the Lake of Constance by the Christian priest of Arbon, who represented the remnant of the influence of the Latin Church of Illyricum from the days when there was a strong current from behind the Balkans to N. Italy and Gaul. The call came to S. Columban to go over the Brenner, "to strengthen the church along the highway of the East, on the confines of the ancient province of Illyricum. He left S. Gall on the Lake of Constance and himself settled at Bobbio."<sup>2</sup> Thus the experience of S. Columban brought him into touch with both the sources from which the old Western Creed was ultimately enriched, the Gallican type including *descendit ad inferna*, *communione sanctorum*, etc., already familiar to Celtic Churchmen, and the clause *creatorem caeli et terrae* which that type lacked.

Regarding the Sacramentary as in any case summarising the liturgical interests of Columban's day, I turn to analyse its creed-forms, which I distinguish as A. AE. B. C. The first three are Baptismal Creeds, the fourth is an isolated form which was probably used in the Hour Offices.<sup>3</sup> A is reproduced in facsimile in Pl. 5.

The first Creed (A) is interpolated in a sermon used at the *Traditio Symboli* in a section which is probably of Roman origin. It follows the ceremony known as *apertio aurium* or delivery of the first words of the four Gospels. This was a Roman custom. We gather that A represents the creed used by the monks at Luxeuil about A.D. 700. It differs from T by the substitution of *Credo* for *et* in Art. 2, also of *unigenitum sempiternum* for *unicum*, and it omits *Dominum*. This variation recurs in the Gallican Missal (forms A, AE), and has been attributed to the influence of the *Te Deum*.<sup>4</sup>

The creed AE, which is embedded in the exposition, is nearer to the text of R than to the Gallican text of the sixth century. But it has several, so to speak, Gallican encrustations, *conceptus*, *mortuum*, *descendit ad inferna*, *omnipotentis*, *catholicam*, *vitam aeternam*.

The sermon has interesting points of connection with Ps. Aug. Serm. 243, which has been traced back to the sixth century; but the question has not been decided whether it comes from Gaul or Italy. Kattenbusch calls attention to the fact that its construction *qui conceptus est*, *qui passus est* is like R, so that it forms a connecting link between R and T.<sup>5</sup> The MSS. in which it is found should be investigated.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1906, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> Barns, *art. cit.*, p. 516.

<sup>3</sup> Kattenbusch, i, p. 55, ii, p. 747, n. 34, p. 881, n. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* ii, p. 776, n. 28.

<sup>5</sup> ii, p. 982.

## A E (Sacr. Gallic.)

Spiritum sanctum audis auctorem: ne dubitas uirginem potuisse concipere . . . Cur non credis eum in utero uirginis hominem figurasse, quem credis hominem fecisse de terra? Nec Mariam dubites uirginem mansisse post partum . . .

Si te triduana domini tui sepultura conturbat, resurrectio magis aeterna confirmet. Quidquid infirmitatis audis in Christo, mysterium est.

Ecce ille qui ab iniquis est iudicatus in terris, de sede caelesti iudicaturus aduenit.

. . . et carnis tuae resurrectio reparetur in aeternum.

## Ps. Aug. 243.

Cum Spiritum sanctum ministratorem tantae natiuitatis audieris, nullatenus dubites uirginem potuisse concipere. Cur non credis cum in utero incorruptae uirginis potuisse figurare, quem credere deus hominem fecisse de limo terrae? Nec dubites Mariam uirginem mansisse post partum.

Si te triduana domini sepultura conturbat, resurrectio gloriosa confirmet. Quidquid enim infirmitatis audis in Christo, nostrae hoc necessitatis, nostrae redemptionis est causa.

Ipsa qui ab iniquis et impiis iudicatus est ad mortem, ipse omnes bonos et iustos iudicaturus est ad gloriam.

. . . ut carnis tuae resurrectio te reparet in aeternum.

The third Creed (B) of this Sacramentary is an Interrogative Creed in the service of Baptism used on Easter Eve in a section which is plainly derived from a Gallican source.

There is a collect for the washing of the feet after Baptism which was a Gallican custom. The form of Renunciation is also Gallican, and the Baptismal formula has an addition *unam habentem substantiam* which finds a parallel in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphony. From the same Gallican or Celtic source comes the last phrase of the Creed *uitam habere post mortem, in gloriam Christi resurgere*. B appears to me to be the work of some Irish monk, who, in the archetype of this section or in this MS. itself, improved the form after the model of the Creed in the Bangor Antiphony, which comes to us from Bobbio, though its form may have been equally familiar to the Celtic monks of Luxeuil.

## § 5.—THE GALRICAN MISSAL.

*Cod. Vat. Pal.* 493, the so-called Gallican Missal, is a volume containing fragments of two Sacramentaries which have been bound up together. Some of the leaves have been misplaced, so that the printed editions present a confused jumble of prayers. Our facsimiles are taken from the first sacramentary,<sup>1</sup> which has been connected with the diocese of Auxerre. They exhibit the form of Creed which has been interpolated at the beginning of a sermon delivered at the Tradition of the Creed. The context contains prayers, which are found also in the so-called Gothic Missal (*Cod. Vat. Reg.* 317) which is connected with the diocese of Autun. Dr. Traube points out the close palaeographical relationship of the two MSS., concluding that our MS. (Palatinus) "belongs to the school of Luxeuil, was written at the beginning of the eighth century, and came from Burgundy to Lorsch in the ninth century, by way of one of the cloisters that had relations with Germany."

The sermon in which the Creed is quoted is also found among the Pseudo-Augustinian

<sup>1</sup> It comprises folios 1-18. In the printed edition it extends from section i-iii<sup>a</sup> down to the word "Fanuelis" (fol. 10<sup>b</sup>) ed. Neale and Forbes, p. 155, ed. Mabillon, p. 332; and again from section xv<sup>b</sup> the words "Pater ex alto" (Neale and Forbes, p. 171, Mabillon, p. 346)—xvi *ad fin.* Our facsimiles are of fols. 16<sup>a</sup>, 16<sup>b</sup>, 17<sup>a</sup> (section xvi).



sermons, No. 242. The text in this sacramentary is defective, and the Creed-form is cut short in the exposition, although the interpolated form at the beginning is complete. I call it interpolated because in these cases we can always extract an earlier Creed from the exposition than that which we find quoted at the beginning, and which probably in each case represents the form familiar to the copyist. Certainly the tendency would always be to assimilate a form.

The sermon Ps. Aug. 242 is found, however, in its completeness in *Cod. lat. Monacensis* 6298, of which I give two facsimiles (Pl. 20, 21). The Munich MS. comes from the monastery of St. Emmeran in the diocese of Freising, and is an eighth century MS., so that we have the advantage of comparing two forms which *ex hypothesi* have been interpolated, the one (*Cod. Palatinus*) in a monastery of the school of Luxeuil in the diocese of Auxerre (c. A.D. 700), and the other (*Cod. Monacensis*) in the monastery of St. Emmeran in the diocese of Freising some seventy years later.

Both forms are substantially like T, but the Palatinus omits *descendit ad inferna*, inserts *uictor* after *ascendit*,<sup>1</sup> and preserves the old Gallican reading *abremissione peccatorum*. Turning to the sermon, Ps. Aug. 242, we note that in the Munich MS. it is found in a collection of Gallican origin, probably made by Caesarius of Arles, though this sermon does not show the characteristics of his style. Mindful of the uncertainty which attends the extraction of a creed-form from the exposition in which it is embedded, we note the omission of *unicum dominum nostrum, mortuus, descendit ad inferna*, and all mention of the Session in art. 7. These omissions find parallels in the old Gallican creeds, and the threefold repetition of *Credo* clinches the argument that this is an old Gallican sermon containing an old Gallican creed, which probably had *abremissione* at first, the reading preserved in *Cod. Palatinus*, and has had *creatorem caeli et terrae* added to it in the exposition as in the interpolated creed.<sup>2</sup>

*Missale Gallicanum.**Ps. Aug. Serm. 242.*<sup>4</sup>

B. <sup>3</sup>	A.	E.
1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, <i>creatorem<sup>5</sup> caeli et terrae.</i> <sup>6</sup>	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, <i>creatorem caeli<sup>7</sup> et terrae.</i>	1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, <i>creatorem caeli et terrae.</i>
2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius, unicum Dominum nostrum,	2. Et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum,	2. Credo et in <Iesum Christum> Filium eius . . .
3. qui <i>conceptus</i> est de Spiritu sancto natus <i>ex</i> Maria uirgine	3. qui <i>conceptus</i> est de Spiritu sancto [natus] <sup>8</sup> <i>ex</i> Maria uirgine	3. qui <i>conceptus</i> de Spiritu sancto natus <i>ex</i> Maria uirgine

<sup>1</sup> The history of this picturesque addition is still obscure, but I may note that it is found in the MSS. of a sermon *Symbolum graeca lingua* (Vesoul MS. 73, *Cod. Sangall.*, 732), and in a sermon *Quicumque uult esse saluus* (Codd. Vat. Pal. 212, 220), both of which I have published *Zeitschrift für KG.*, xxi, p. 128, and in Ps. Aug. Serm. 238. It came in probably from an exposition, since it occurs in the exposition of Ps. Aug. Serm., 240, and in the sermon *Auscultate expositionem* (*Z. für KG.*, xix, 179).

<sup>2</sup> The *huius (carnis)* which Hahn<sup>3</sup>, p. 47, and others insert belongs to the exposition and not to the creed-form since the Munich MS. reads *huius affectu carnis*.

<sup>3</sup> The exposition in the *Missale Gallicanum* (= *Ps. Aug. Serm.*, 242) is defective. The creed-form is: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *creatorem caeli et terrae*. Credo in Filio eius.

<sup>4</sup> I quote the text of Ps. Aug. 242, A and E from *Cod. lat. Monacensis*, 6298, saec. viii.

<sup>5</sup> *Cod.* creatori.

<sup>6</sup> terre.

<sup>7</sup> celi.

<sup>8</sup> natus *supr. lin. man. sec.*

<i>Missale Gallicanum.</i>			<i>Ps. Aug. Serm. 242.</i>		
B.			A.	E.	
4. <i>passus</i> sub Pontio Pilato			4. <i>passus</i> sub Pontio Pilato <sup>1</sup>	4. <i>passus</i> sub Pontio Pilato	
crucifixus <i>mortuus</i> et sepultus			crucifixus <i>mortuus</i> et sepultus	crucifixus est . . . et sepultus	
* * *			<i>descendit</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ad inferna</i>	* * *	
5. <i>tertia</i> <sup>3</sup> die resurrexit a			5. <i>tertia</i> die resurrexit a	5. <i>tertia</i> die resurrexit	* *
mortuis			mortuis		
6. ascendit <i>uictor ad caelos</i> <sup>4</sup>			6. ascendit in caelo	6. ascendit <i>ad</i> caelos,	
7. <i>sedit</i> ad dexteram <i>Dei</i>			7. <i>sedit</i> ad dexteram [ <i>Dei</i> ] <sup>5</sup>	7.	
Patris <i>omnipotentis</i> ,			Patris <i>omnipotentis</i> ,		
8. <i>inde</i> uenturus iudicare			8. <i>inde</i> uenturus iudicare	8. <i>inde</i> uenturus <sup>6</sup> iudicare	
uiuos et mortuos			uiuos <i>ac</i> mortuos	uiuos et mortuos	
9. <i>Credo</i> in sancto Spiritu			9. <i>Credo</i> et in Spiritum	9. <i>Credo</i> et in Spiritum	
			sanctum <sup>7</sup>	sanctum	
10. sancta ecclesia <sup>8</sup> <i>catholica</i>			10. sanctam ecclesiam <sup>9</sup> <i>cath-</i>	10. sanctam ecclesiam <i>cath-</i>	
<i>sanctorum communionem</i>			<i>olicam</i> <sup>10</sup> <i>sanctorum communi-</i>	<i>olicam sanctorum communionem</i>	
			<i>onem</i> <sup>11</sup>		
11. <i>abremissione</i> peccatorum			11. remissionem peccatorum	11. remissionem peccatorum	
12. carnis resurrectionem <sup>12</sup> <i>ui-</i>			12. carnis resurrectionem <i>et</i>	12. carnis resurrectionem <i>ui-</i>	
<i>tam aeternam.</i>			<i>uitam aeternam.</i>	<i>tam aeternam.</i>	

#### § 6.—THE SACRAMENTARY OF GELLONE.

The so-called Sacramentary of Gellone (*Cod. Paris. lat.* 12048) was, as Dr. Traube has shown, probably written in the monastery of Rebais, in the diocese of Meaux, during the episcopate of Romanus c. A.D. 750. The Sacramentary belongs to the Gelasian class, though it includes masses of the eighth century.<sup>13</sup> It contains two Orders of Baptism.

In the first the *Interrogationes de fide* remind us of R :

Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem ? R̃ Credo.

Et in Christum Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum ? R̃ Credo.

Credis et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem ? R̃ Credo.

Martène says that the custom of reciting the creed in Greek over a boy and in Latin over a girl is preserved in this Order, but he does not quote the creed-form.

In the second Order from which our facsimile is taken there is a similar reference to the two languages. The recitation of the Creed follows the *apertio aurium*, which is a characteristic part of the Roman office. To the question "In what language does the child confess?" the acolyte answers "In Latin." After the Creed follows the summary of the Gelasian Sacramentary. The form is T, and it is important to note that it occurs in precisely the context in which the Gelasian Sacramentary has the Constantinopolitan Creed. In fact it nullifies the argument, which has been founded on the Gelasian Sacramentary, to the effect that in

<sup>1</sup> philato.

<sup>4</sup> celos.

<sup>7</sup> sanctum *supr. lin. man. sec.*

<sup>10</sup> *seq. tres. litt. ras. ut uid.*

<sup>13</sup> e.g., *Feriae V. in Quadragesima.* Baeumer, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1893, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> descendit.

<sup>5</sup> dei *supr. lin.*

<sup>8</sup> ecclisia.

<sup>11</sup> commonionem.

<sup>3</sup> *tercia.*

<sup>6</sup> *inde uenturus supr. lin.*

<sup>9</sup> aeclesiam.

<sup>12</sup> *resurreccionem.*



Rome R had been exchanged for C, that it was only under the influence of Charles the Great that T, the Gallicanised form of the Western Creed, was accepted in place of C.

An insuperable objection to that argument seems to me to lie in the fact that the Roman missionaries to Britain who traversed Gaul in the seventh century took with them at first R, and then possibly T, but never C. If C had been substituted for R some traces of its use would have spread to Britain.

The evidence of the Gelasian Sacramentary can be easily explained if we suppose that during the time of Byzantine influence C, the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, was offered to Greek-speaking catechumens as the equivalent of R<sup>1</sup>, the Greek text of which had been long ago forgotten. Time passed, and there were no more Greek-speaking catechumens. It became necessary to explain the existence of two parallel forms, and the absurd explanation was given that the second was used for girls! The Order of Baptism of Vienne, which is dependent on the sources of the Gelasian Sacramentary, confirms this explanation. The question is put to the Godparents, "Is Greek understood?" The answer "No" follows, and then *Credo in Deum*.<sup>2</sup>

Some pages later is the form for the Baptism of a sick catechumen. The collect for the blessing of the water is the same as that found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, but the Interrogative form of Creed is the Gallican form without *creatorem caeli et terrae*, which is substituted for the shortened form of R used in the Gelasian Sacramentary. I will print the two forms side by side.

*Sacramentarium Gellonense.*

*fol. 181 a.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
*creatorem caeli et terrae*
2. Et in (Iesum Christum Filium) eius unicum  
dominum nostrum,
3. Qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex*  
Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus*  
et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna*
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos
9. Credo in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum*  
*communione*,
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam*.

*fol. 191 b.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem  
\* \* \* \*
2. *Credis* et in (Iesum Christum) Filium eius  
unicum dominum nostrum
3. qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto natus *ex*  
Maria uirgine,
4. *passus* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus *mortuus*  
et sepultus, *descendit ad inferna*,
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. ascendit *ad* caelos,
7. sedit ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipotentis*
8. *inde* uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos
9. *Credis* in Spiritum sanctum,
10. sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam sanctorum*  
*communione*,
11. remissionem peccatorum,
12. carnis resurrectionem, *uitam aeternam*.

<sup>1</sup> Pope Vigilius in his Encyclical called C *Symbolum*, and the Latin text in use at Rome had phrases in common with R.

<sup>2</sup> Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. I. cap. i. Ord. 12. (vol. i, p. 42, ed. 1763).

## § 7.—CODEx EINSIDLENSIS, 199.

The full title of the treatise, from which we quote the first dated appearance of T, is *Dicta Abbatis Priminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*. Very little is known about the personal history of Priminus. He came to Alamannia as a "*peregrinus*," and founded monasteries of which the best known is Reichenau. Driven thence, he ended his days in the Abbey of Hornbach, where he received a visit from his friend Boniface, who was starting on his last missionary journey.

Dr. Traube's notes prove that the MS. may have been written at any of the monasteries specially associated with the name of Priminus, e.g. Reichenau or Murbach. The relations of the script to Spanish handwriting are very interesting. They coincide with the internal evidence of the treatise which is dependent on a writing of Martin of Bracara. Such dependence, to which Dr. Traube does not refer, confirms his suggestion that Priminus may have been a Spaniard. The ordinary view that he was an Irish monk has no better support.

Priminus quotes the Apostles' Creed in three different contexts. In the first (c. 10) he narrates the legend of its Apostolic origin. In the second (c. 12), from which our facsimile is taken, he describes the ceremonies of Baptism. The third (c. 28) is a summary instruction on faith and morals. The variations in the creed-texts are trifling.

To show the dependence of Priminus in this passage on the earlier treatise of Martin of Bracara *de correctione rusticorum*, I will indicate the words quoted by thick type. But it will at once appear that he deliberately altered both the form of Renunciation and the form of Creed.

*Dicta abbatis Priminii.*

Ideo, fratres, ad memoriam uestram reducimus **qualem pactum in ipso baptistirio cum deo fecimus**, v.g. cum interrogati **singuli nomen** nostrum **a sacerdote** fuimus, quomodo diceremur, **respondisti aut tu**, si iam poteras **respondere**, aut certe qui pro te fidem fecit, qui te de fonte suscepit, et dixit : **Iohannis dicitur**, aut aliud nomen. **Et interrogauit sacerdos : Iohannis, abrenuncias diabulo et omnibus operibus eius et omnibus pompis eius ? Respondisti : Abrenuntio**, hoc est despicio et derelinquo omnia opera mala et diabolica. **Post istam abrenuntiationem diabuli et omnibus operibus eius, et interrogatus es a sacerdote : Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae ? Et respondisti : Credo.** Et iterum : **Credis et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos ? Et respondisti : Credo.** Et tertio interrogauit sacerdos : **Credis et in spiritu sancto, sancta ecclesia catholica, sanctorum communione, remissione peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, uitam eternam. Respondisti aut tu, aut patrinus pro te : Credo. Ecce pactio qualis et promissio uel confessio** uestra apud deum tenetur. Et credens baptizatus es in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti in remissione omnium peccatorum, et unctus es a sacerdote chrisma salutis in uitam aeternam, et induit corpus tuum uestem candidam, et Christus animam tuam induit gratiam celestem, et adsignatus est tibi sanctus angelus ad custodiendum te . . . . .

To point the contrast between Martin's form of Renunciation and that of Priminus, I will quote them in parallel columns with other Gallican forms.



Martin † 580.

Promisistis uos abrenuntiare diabolo et angelis  
eius et omnibus operibus eius malis.

*Miss. Gallic.*

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis sacculi, et  
uoluptatibus eius?

Priminus.

Abrenuntias diabolo et omnibus operibus eius et  
omnibus pompis eius?

Eligius of Noyon † 659.

Abrenuntiaſtis enim diabolo et pompis et  
operibus eius.

*Sacr. Gallic.*

Abrenuncias Satanae, pompis eius, luxuriis suis,  
saeculo huic?

Roman rite (*Sacr. Gelus. and Greg.*)

Abrenuntias Satanae et omnibus operibus eius  
et omnibus pompis eius?

Martin's Creed was as follows, the points at which it varies from the Creed of Priminus being indicated by asterisks and italics.

Credo in Deum Patrem \* \* \* \* . Et in Iesu Christo, filio eius unico, *deo et domino nostro*, qui  
*natus* est de Spiritu sancto \* α Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus \* et sepultus,  
[descendit ad inferna],<sup>1</sup> tertia die resurrexit *uiuus* a mortuis, ascendit *in* caelos, sedet ad dexteram \* Patris  
\* , inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Credo in (sanctum Spiritum), sanctam *ecclesiam catholicam*  
\* \* remissionem *omnium* peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem *et* uitam aeternam.

It is true that Priminus is not giving a full account of the ceremonies of baptism, so that it is not wise to lay much stress on the fact that he speaks of baptism as following the recitation of the Creed. This was a Roman custom, for in Gallican services an interval was allowed to elapse.<sup>2</sup> But the cumulative argument is strong when we note that in addition to the Roman form of Renunciation he adds a reminiscence of the Roman prayer of Unction after baptism which may be contrasted with the Gallican prayer as follows :—

Roman.

Deus omnipotens, Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te linit chrismate salutis in uitam aeternam.

Gallican.

Deus Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regenerauit per aquam et Spiritum sanctum, quique tibi dedit remissionem peccatorum per lauacrum regenerationis et sanguinem, ipse te linit chrismate suo sancto in uitam aeternam.

There can be little doubt that Priminus had the Roman prayer in his mind when he wrote: *chrisma*<sup>3</sup> *salutis in uitam aeternam*. May we not in default of other evidence assume that his creed also was derived from a Roman source? The evidence of Priminus thus brings us to the crux of this whole investigation into the origin of T, since the occurrence of T in his treatise, which was written about A.D. 730, is its first dated appearance, though in other MSS. we have found forms closely approximating to it. In another section we will endeavour to survey the whole evidence.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Cod. Bernensis, codd. Sangall.*

<sup>2</sup> In the Gallican Order the recitation of the Creed took place on Maundy Thursday: Martin of Bracara can. 49. Ildefonsus, c. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The form *chrisma* is found in *Miss. Gallic.* as a noun of the first declension (*ed. Mabillon*, p. 363).

## § 8.—CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions to which I am led by the evidence are as follows :—

The existence of a Gallican type of creed, used by Caesarius of Arles and Cyprian of Toulon, has been proved. It may be traced in the writing of Eligius of Noyon, and in other sermons such as Ps. Aug. 242, as in the Gallican sections of Sacramentaries, the Gallican Missal and the Sacramentary of Gellone.

The history of the Creed in Britain began with Gallican forms of the type preserved in the Bangor Antiphonary, which Celtic Christianity may have inherited through St. Patrick from Lerins. But the type brought by the missionaries who followed Augustine was of the simpler character of R, though the process of assimilation to the Celtic Creed soon began. The Creed of *Cod. Bernensis* N. 645 is, as it were, a wreck cast up by the tide of change.

The occurrence of forms approximating to T at an earlier date than the Creed of Priminus such as we find in the Gallican Sacramentary may lead eventually to proof that T came into existence at Bobbio or more probably Luxeuil. But it does not invalidate the conclusion that it was disseminated from those centres of monastic life in conformity with Roman custom, and was probably substituted for R in Rome by one of the Popes before A.D. 700.

All the evidence seems to converge on this conclusion. Amalarius of Trèves recommended T to Charles the Great with the statement that he followed the *Ordo Romanus*. The new text of the seventh *Ordo Romanus* in *Cod. Sessorianus* 52 proves the existence of T in a Roman collection of the ninth century. Priminus, the friend of Boniface, is found to quote the Roman form of Renunciation and the Roman prayer of Unction. Though it is not clear from his writings what form Boniface used, there can be little doubt that he and his disciples generally used T. The form which we have found interpolated at Luxeuil in the seventh century finds increasing acceptance in the eighth century. The evidence of Priminus coincides with the evidence of the Gallican Missal and the Sacramentary of Gellone. There was a constant Romanising of liturgical forms at work throughout Gaul during the eighth century. Among other attempts which Charles made to bring order out of chaos we must put his acceptance of T, which arrived at its oecumenical position through the corrected Psalters that spread from his schools all over the west. We can see, however, clearly that he inherited a tradition which was nearly a century old. He built on foundations already laid by Pope Gregory II., and that great missionary Boniface. Thus the old Roman Creed, enriched by contributions both from east and west, from the Church of the Danube lands and the early Gallican Church, grew into its final form and began its career as the Baptismal Creed of all Western Christendom.



## II. THE NICENE CREED.

## § 1.—THE CREED OF THE NICENE COUNCIL (N).

*Cod. Vatic. lat. 1322, saec. vi. vii.**Cod. Tolosanus 364 (l. 63), saec. vii.*

The type of the text of N quoted in *Cod. Vat. lat. 1322* is taken from the *Actio Sexta* of the Council of Chalcedon in the version of Rusticus, which is dependent on a MS. from the Monastery of the Sleepless Monks at Constantinople. It is corrupted both by additions and omissions, which probably represent the influence of the *Constantinopolitanum* (C) as the Baptismal Creed of Constantinople, certainly from A.D. 451. This does not surprise us when we bear in mind the tendency of copyists to assimilate forms. The omission of words corresponding to *τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ*, which are not found in C, is probably intentional, but the omission of *lumen de lumine* is probably a blunder. I have indicated additions by square brackets [ ] and omissions by asterisks. On the whole the text is purer than the Greek text which I have quoted from Mansi's *Concilia*, vii, p. 110 (Facsimile, 1901), setting its variations beside the original text as quoted by Athanasius *de Decretis*.

The text transmitted by *Cod. Tolosanus*, which is taken from the letter of Pope Leo I. to the Emperor Leo I., is pure, and bears testimony to the accuracy of Roman theologians. It confirms also the accuracy of the translation transmitted by Hilary *de Synodis*. I have noted the trifling variations.

There is not much to say about this text. Full information about other Latin versions can be obtained from Mr. Turner's well-known book, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Clarendon Press).

COD. VATIC.<sup>1</sup>

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, [factorem caeli et terrae] uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium :  
Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, qui natus est de [ex] Patre [ante omnia saecula] . . . .

5 inuisibilium : uisibilium V.  
7 de : de ex V.

COD. TOLOS. (with the variations found in text quoted in Hil. *de Synodis*).

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem uisibilium et inuisibilium factorem.  
5 Et in unum Dominum nostrum Iesum filium Dei natum de Patre unigenitum hoc est de substantia Patris, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine,

4 uisibilium : *pr.* omnium Hil.  
5 Iesum + Christum Hil.  
7 de : ex Hil.  
9 de : ex Hil.

COD. VATIC.<sup>1</sup>

Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non  
factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem  
10 omnia facta sunt;

qui [propter] nos homines et propter salutem  
nostram descendit et incarnatus est atque  
humanatus est et passus est et resurrexit  
tertia die et ascendit in caelos, uenturus  
15 iudicare uiuos et mortuos:

Et in Spiritum sanctum.

Eos autem qui dicunt: Erat aliquando  
quando non erat, et priusquam nasceretur  
non erat, [quia] Ex non extantibus factus  
20 est, aut Ex alia subsistentia uel substantia  
dicentes esse aut conuertibilem aut  
mutabilem Filium Dei, hos anathematizat  
catholica et apostolica Dei ecclesia.

<sup>1</sup> 11 propter: V. *cen.*

12 nostra V.

14 ascendit V.

16 in: *supr. lin.* V.

20 alia: *lia* V.

23 apostolica V. Dei *supr. lin.* V.

## COD. TOLOS.

10 Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non  
factum unius substantiae cum Patre, quod  
Graeci dicunt *omousion*, per quem omnia  
facta sunt, siue quae in caelo siue quae in  
terra.

15 qui propter nostram salutem descendit incar-  
natus est et homo factus est passus est  
resurrexit tertia die ascendit in caelos  
uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos

Et in Spiritum sanctum.

12 Graece *Hil.*

12 *homousion Hil.*

13 *om.* siue *Hil.*

13 siue quae: et *Hil.*

16 passus: *pr.* et *Hil.* resurrexit: *pr.* et *Hil.*

17 ascendit: *pr.* et *Hil.*

## CREED OF NICENE COUNCIL.

Variations in the Greek Text of Chalcedonian  
Definition.

(*Euseb. Ep. ad Caes. ap. Ath. de Decretis.*)

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα  
παντοκράτορα πάντων ὁράτων τε καὶ  
ἀοράτων ποιητήν

5 Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν

Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, + γεννηθέντα

+ τὸν

ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν

ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ

Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ

10 ἀληθινού,

γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον

τῷ πατρὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο

τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ,

τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ

*om.* τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ



15 διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα + καὶ σαρκωθέντα + καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα +	+ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν + ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου
παθόντα + καὶ ἀναστάντα	+ σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ + ἀνελθόντα εἰς	+ καὶ ταφέντα
τοὺς οὐρανοὺς +, καὶ ἐρχόμενον + κρῖναι	+ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ + καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν
20 ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς +.	+ μετὰ δόξης + οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.
Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα + Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν	tr. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον + τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν
25 καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν	om. ἢ κτιστὸν
30 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, + ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ + ἐκκλησία.	+ τούτους + ἀποστολική

## § 2.—CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM.

The type of the text of C which is transmitted in the Vatican and Toulouse MSS. is the form which is quoted in the sixth *Actio* of the Council of Chalcedon. To explain its importance I must say something of recent enquiries into the history of C.

It is commonly agreed that C is a revised text of the Creed of Jerusalem, which was mentioned, if not discussed, at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381. At the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, it was read from the now lost Acts of the former Council and was quoted as in some sense their exposition, i.e. "the exposition of the 150 Fathers."

That it was not edited by the Council of Constantinople may be proved by the fact that it was quoted by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in his treatise *Ancoratus*, which was written about the year A.D. 374. Some priests and leading churchmen of Syedra in Pamphylia had asked him for an exposition of Catholic Teaching on the Trinity. He appears to imply that it had been introduced into his diocese as a Baptismal Creed. His words are ambiguous, but by a simple emendation, the addition of καὶ before ἀπὸ πάντων, Dr. Bindley shows that they may be taken to give a consistent and true statement, namely, that the Creed was composed of apostolic, Jerusalem, and Nicene teaching<sup>1</sup>: καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει [καὶ] ἀπὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

<sup>1</sup> *Oecumenical Documents*, 1899, p. 72.

There can be no question that the revision of the Jerusalem Creed quoted by Epiphanius was the work of Cyril of Jerusalem, since three of the changes made in the old form, apart from the introduction of Nicene phrases, express opinions which he had taught definitely in his Catechetical lectures. These changes are *καθεζόμενον* for *καθίσαντα*, *μετὰ δόξης* for *ἐν δόξῃ*, *νεκρῶν* for *σαρκός*.

At Chalcedon C was quoted in the first session by Diogenes of Cyzicus. He accused Eutyches of falsehood in denying that the faith of the Nicene Council could receive additions. "It received an addition from the holy Fathers because of the perversities of Apollinarius and Valentinus and Macedonius and men like them; and there have been added to the symbol of the Fathers the words, 'who came down and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.'"

At the second session when N had been read and received with enthusiasm, Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, read C as "the holy faith which the 150 holy Fathers set forth in harmony with the holy and great Synod at Nicaea." It was greeted with exclamations such as: "This is the faith of all, this is the faith of the orthodox, so we all believe." At the close of the conference the Imperial Commissioners directed those who had doubts to come to conference with Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople. It seems that Constantinopolitan churchmen, who had naturally a greater interest in the Council of 381 than the representatives of other Churches, pressed for recognition of the Creed which they had come to regard as its work. In all probability the form in which they brought it forward at the second session was the form in which they had for some time used it as their Baptismal Creed. The result of the Conference with Anatolius was the triumph of the form which was brought up at the fifth session and confirmed in the Definition of the Council at the sixth session, with the concurrence if not the assistance of the Papal legates.

Dr. Kunze has suggested,<sup>1</sup> and the idea was hailed by Dr. Kattenbusch,<sup>2</sup> that Leo's letter to Flavian gave the impulse to put C forward because it contained a parallel to the words "qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine," which Leo quoted from the Old Roman Creed. There was no parallel to them in N. In the form quoted at the sixth session there is another parallel in the words "crucifixus est . . . et sepultus" on which again the Pope laid stress. We may even question whether the Pope had not this form of C in his mind when he wrote so emphatically of the teaching as professed "in the common and undistinguishable confession" by all the faithful, and as confessed in the Creed by all.<sup>3</sup>

It is noteworthy that the same form is quoted by Pope Vigilius in his *Constitutum*.

The omission of the *Filioque* may be noted. Until many more MSS. have been carefully collated it is perhaps rash to raise the ultimate question whether we have not in this old Latin version the purest text of the original Constantinopolitan Creed.

There was less temptation to assimilate texts in the west where the Apostles' Creed was used at Baptisms. This process of assimilation of the texts of N and C had begun before the Council of Ephesus, and was acknowledged in so many words at Chalcedon, when the text published in the sixth session differed from that quoted by Aetius at the second session.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1898, col. 681.

<sup>3</sup> *c. ii*: illam communem et indiscretam confessionem . . . qua fidelium uniuersitas profitetur: *c. v*: omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur.



I will quote the text of C as published in the sixth session, comparing other MSS. with the Vatican and Toulouse MSS.

C in Council of Chalcedon, Rusticus' version of *Actio sexta*.

- A, Cod. Albigensis 2 saec. ix. } MSS. of the same collection. Their agreement is  
 T, Cod. Tolosanus 364 (I. 63) saec. vii. } marked as T.  
 N, Cod. Vat. 1322 saec. vi.  
 M, Cod. Mediolanensis Ambrosianus E 147 sup. p. 124, saec. vii-viii. [Another MS. of the  
 collection of Rusticus from Bobbio.]  
 f, Cod. Vat. 1127 saec. ix from Angoulême } This agreement is marked  
 F, Cod. Paris. B.N. lat. 1451 saec. ix in. Collection of St. Maur } as F.  
 H, Translation in Hadrian's edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, printed by Hahn,<sup>3</sup> p. 165.  
 Vig. Text found in the *Constitutum* of Pope Vigilius (553) Migne P.L. lxi, 145.  
 cant. Cod. Cantabrig. G g. 5. 35 saec. xi from S. Augustine's, Canterbury.

#### ITERVM SYMBOLVM CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium :

et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula  
 5 \* \* Deum uerum de Deo uero, natum non factum, consubstantialem Patri per quem omnia facta  
 sunt ; qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram descendit \* et incarnatus est de Spiritu  
 sancto et Maria uirgine, et humanatus est et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato \*, et  
 sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die \*, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, iterum uenturus  
 [est] cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis :

10 et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem ex Patre \* procedentem, cum Patre et Filio  
 adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per sanctos prophetas : in unam \* catholicam et  
 apostolicam ecclesiam ; confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum : expectamus  
 resurrectionem mortuorum [et] uitam futuri saeculi. AMEN.

I. ITERVM: ITEM M IDEM ET CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA SANCTORVM PATRVM QVI CONSTANTI-  
 NOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT F EXPOSITIO FIDEI CL SANCTORVM [+ PATRVM A\*] QVI CONSTANTI-  
 NOPOLIM CONGREGATI SVNT T. 2. credo cant. omnium: om. T. 4. in: om. T. unigenitum: om. TH.  
 omnia: om. M. 6. et 1º: + propter F cant. tr. nostram salutem F cant. discindit N; + de caelis H  
 cant. 7. et (ante Maria): ex H. et humanatus (inhumatus T) est et: et homo factus est cant. est (post  
 humanatus): om. Vig. pro nobis: propter nos F. sup N. Pilato: + passus cant. 8. die: + secundum  
 scripturas cant. ascindit N. in: ad T caelo N caelum H cant. sedit N \* Vig. cant. (praem et Vig.)  
 iterum: praem et F cant. 9. est: om. MFTH Vig. quuius M. tr. finis non erit T. 10. uiuificantem F  
 qui ex Patre Filioque procedit cant. qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur cant.  
 Patrem f. 11. coadorandum et glorificandum Vig. loquutus MT. sanctos: om. f \* cant. in: et H cant. et  
 in Vig. unam: + sanctam H cant. 12. confiteor A \* (corr. mp) cant. apostholicam MN baptismā T  
 baptismam A in remissione T cant. expectamus: speramus. Vig. et expecto cant. 13. resurrectione  
 mortuorum T. et: om. MT. futuri f.

## III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

## § 1.—INTRODUCTION.

This collection of facsimiles of MSS. of the so-called Athanasian Creed has been made with the object of proving beyond all doubt that the *textus receptus* has existed from the seventh century. We are not now concerned with the evidence of Commentaries, or Quotations (either in sermons or in the Canons of Councils), or with the internal evidence by which the date of the creed may be set back, certainly to the sixth and probably to the fifth century.

Having lost the valued aid of Dr. Traube at this point, I have somewhat enlarged the palaeographical notes at the beginning of each section.

## § 2.—LEIDRAT'S MS.

The MS. is preserved in the library of the Marist Fathers of Sainte-Foi-lès-Lyon. It consists of 114 leaves, the size being 260 × 175 mm. They are arranged in gatherings of eight leaves, except that the third has only six, and the fifth ten. The signatures i–xiii end on *fol.* 104. The four leaves following, in two gatherings, have no signatures. What might be a sixteenth gathering is reduced to a single sheet, which the binder by mistake has wrapped round the preceding gathering so that the two leaves of this sheet are numbered 109 and 114. These details are necessary to explain the fact that the text of the *Quicumque* begins on *fol.* 109<sup>v</sup> and is continued on *fol.* 114<sup>v</sup>. The script is ordinary Caroline minuscule. A full description of it has been published by M. Léopold Delisle<sup>1</sup> whose attention was drawn to it by M. l'Abbé J.-B. Martin, to whom I am indebted for help in procuring the photographs.

The central point of interest in the MS. lies in the autograph note on *fol.* 1<sup>v</sup>.

Leidrat licet indignus tamen episcopus  
istum librum tradidi ad altare  
sancti stephani.

The same dedication is found in three other MSS., some treatises by S. Augustine in the library at Lyons (MS. 608 [524]), and the Commentary of S. Jerome on Isaiah in a MS. at Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 152), also in Lyons 599 [515] Rufinus' version of Gregory of Nazianzus.

All these dedications seem to have been written by the Bishop himself. A secretary might have used the formula *licet indignus*, but would almost certainly have used the Latin form of the name Leidradus.<sup>2</sup> Leidrat held the see of Lyons from A.D. 798–814 when he resigned. The MS. must have been written before 814, but not much earlier, because it contains verses by Alcuin.

<sup>1</sup> *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits*, xxxv, 2<sup>e</sup> partie.

<sup>2</sup> M. Delisle quotes a MS. (Lyons Library 526) in which a similar dedication has been erased by a thief and rewritten by a clerk of the ninth or tenth century with the form Leidradus.



Leidrat's successor Agobard gave another important MS., the leading MS. of Tertullian (*Cod. Agobardinus*, Paris, B.N. lat. 1622), to the same church, with the inscription: *Liber oblatus ad altare sancti stephani ex uoto agobardi episcopi*. This inscription does not imply necessarily that the book was given during Agobard's lifetime.

There were three churches—Holy Cross, S. Stephen, S. John Baptist—standing side by side. Probably the phrases in both dedications imply no more than storage of the books in the Library.

The contents of Leidrat's MS. are: (1) Porphyry's Introduction; (2) a translation of the Categories of Aristotle attributed to S. Augustine, followed by some verses of Alcuin; (3) fragments of a treatise on Dialectic; (4) the treatise of Apuleius on the categorical syllogism; (5) the commentaries of Boethius on Aristotle's treatise *de Interpretatione*; (6) the *de dignitate humanae conditionis* attributed to S. Ambrose<sup>1</sup>; (7) a collection of creeds including the first Nicene Creed, the Faiths of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory the Great, S. Gregory of Neocaesarea, S. Jerome (= the Creed of Pelagius). A paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer follows, then an introduction to the Psalter, including quotations from Cassiodorus, Damasus, Jerome, Isidore, and Augustine.

M. Delisle suggested that the collection of creeds was prepared for Leidrat's journey to Spain in 798, when he was combating the heresy of Adoptionism. But there were no phrases even in the *Quicumque* which directly combated this revival of Nestorianism. It seems more probable that the collection was the fruit of the general impulse given to historical research and theological studies by the influence of Charles the Great.

We find similar collections in other MSS. of the period, at Leyden (*Cod. lat. xvii, 67, F., saec. viii, ix*),<sup>2</sup> and at Karlsruhe (*Cod. Augiensis, xviii, saec. ix in.*). There is one of a later date at Paris (B.N. lat. 2341, *saec. x*).

But it is of more importance to note that exactly the same collection of creeds in the same order, together with most of the extracts which follow in Leidrat's MS., actually form the Introduction to the famous Golden Psalter at Vienna (*Cod. 1861*),<sup>3</sup> which was written by command of a King Charles for a Pope Hadrian. Dr. Traube had no doubt that this MS. belonged palaeographically to the time of Charles the Great. He intended<sup>4</sup> to write a dissertation on it in conjunction with two friends who were interested in it from the point of view of the history of Art. He connected it with a group of MSS., which he calls the Ada-Group, of which the best known, though not the best specimen, is the Trèves Ada-MS. He was not, however, able to decide where MSS. of this group were written.

I venture to suggest that Leidrat may have been instructed to prepare the collection for the Psalter which was designed by Charles for Pope Hadrian I., after whose death, in A.D. 795, the MS. seems to have been given to Queen Hildegard.<sup>5</sup>

In the Golden Psalter the *Quicumque* appears in what was, from this time forward, its usual place at the end of the Psalter, after the Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles'

<sup>1</sup> Migne, P. L., xvii, 1015.

<sup>2</sup> This collection includes the Confession of Faith of the 11th C. of Toledo (675), in which Adoptionism is excluded by the words: "Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius non adoptioe."

<sup>3</sup> I have also found the collection in a MS. at Brussels, Cod. 8656, *saec. ix*, where it is headed by the *Quicumque*.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Nov. 20th, 1901.

<sup>5</sup> On its subsequent history, see Ommanney, *Dissertation*, p. 104.

Creed. We can trace such Psalters spreading throughout the ninth century from west to east of the Empire. There is the fine Psalter from the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Près (Paris, B.N. 13159) which was prepared on the eve of the coronation of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor. There are the Utrecht Psalter from the neighbourhood of Rheims, *c.* A.D. 830, the Psalters of Fulco of Rheims, of Charles the Bald, of Lothair, of Count Henry (at Troyes), and others at St. Gallen and Würzburg.

Leidrat's MS. by itself crushes the theory that the *Quicumque* was brought into its present form about A.D. 813, having existed previously in two separate portions. We may accept without question a quotation of the second clause made by Agobard, Leidrat's successor, as a quotation from the whole creed and not from the first portion only. Some years later Florus, a deacon of the Church of Lyons, wrote to an Abbot Hyldrad about the correction of the text of Psalters. He preferred to make a separate volume of the Hymns, Symbol, Lord's Prayer, Faith (= *Quicumque*), calendar and prayers, which he found included in Psalters. Also in a letter which he wrote in the name of the Church of Lyons against the teaching of John the Scot, he refers to "the Catholic Faith, the true faith of thinking about God which must be preserved whole and undefiled."

Thus it is no longer necessary to construct an elaborate argument<sup>1</sup> to prove that the assumption that Paulinus of Aquileia and Alcuin were silent regarding the *Quicumque* is indeed questionable. The parallels in their writings to the language of the creed are really quotations. But against the new Nestorianism of the Adoptianists as against the old Nestorianism of the fifth century its phrases needed sharpening.

In M. Delisle's words Leidrat's MS. has "a real value for palaeographical studies," and may "furnish elements of comparative criticism to determine the date of several MSS. of the beginning of the Carolingian period."<sup>2</sup>

### § 3.—CODEX PETRIBURG. Q. I. 15.

This MS. is interesting from many points of view. In the first place it is one of the lost Corbie MSS. which have found their way to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg in the collection of Peter Dubrowsky, who was an attaché of the Russian Embassy at Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. His name may be seen on *fol.* 63v. (Plate 19.)

Mabillon found it among the MSS. of the Benedictine House of St. Germain-des-Près, to which the Benedictines of Corbie had brought their treasures in 1638, most of them eventually finding their way to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. He published an account of it with a facsimile of the first words of the *Quicumque uult* in his *De re diplomatica*.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he gave it two different numbers, 257 and 267, which has caused some confusion in histories of the *Quicumque*.<sup>4</sup>

The indefatigable zeal of Dr. Traube, who, upon my showing him the photograph, was at once able to identify it, has traced the history of the MS. a stage further. Though it belonged to Corbie it is not written in the old Corbie hand. In Traube's phrase the hand is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *The Athanasian Creed and its early Commentaries*, p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ed.* 1789, tom. i, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Ommanney, *Diss. on Ath. Creed*, p. 97, quotes it as two separate MSS.



*insular* and probably Irish. Corbie had comparatively few *insular* MSS., but there are some five or six at Paris and St. Petersburg. The phrase is intended to mark the distinction between Irish and Anglo-Saxon hands and the Continental types. This MS. has marked individual characteristics, especially the formation of the letters *t* and *e*, and the double types of the latter. The type  $\text{✓} = e$  is found in the Book of Durrow, the Book of Dimma, the marginal writing of the Boniface MS. 1 at Fulda, and Oxford Douce 140.

On *fol.* 72 are found *Aldhelmi enigmata ex diuersis rerum creaturis composita*. This led Dr. Traube to the suggestion that the MS. comes from the Irish Monastery of Péronne, which lay not far from Corbie. At the end of the seventh century there lived at Péronne an Irish monk Cellanus, who was a great admirer of Aldhelm, the Anglo-Saxon Abbot of Malmesbury (675–709), who was also Bishop of Sherborne (705–709). William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* has preserved a letter from Cellanus to Aldhelm with Aldhelm's reply.<sup>1</sup>

Cellanus was himself a writer of verses, which Dr. Traube found in a Florentine MS., *Cod. lat. plut.*, lxvi, 40, of the Laurentian Library. He notes that the Beneventine copyist found it difficult to read the contractions of the old Irish hand. Thus *s. crux* or  $\bar{s} crux = sed crux$  became *scrux*, *hic* became *hinc*, *p' = per* became *prae*,  $p\text{✓}r\text{✓}mit = peremit$  became *premit*.

It is possible, therefore, that Cellanus was the author of the strange acrostic *Johannis celsi rimans mysteria caeli* which follows the text of the *Quicumque* on *fol.* 63b of our MS. This acrostic, together with the riddles of Aldhelm and Aldhelm's work, *de uirginitate laudanda*, occur in another St. Petersburg MS. (F. xiv, 1) which comes from the Monastery of St. Riquier on the Somme, not far from Péronne and Corbie.

The Annals of Lorsch record the death of an Irish Abbot Cellanus in 706, who is probably to be identified with Cellanus of Péronne.

We may suppose that the MS. was written by an Irish monk of Péronne who wished to make the verses of Aldhelm known to his neighbours in Corbie, not long after the death of Cellanus. Dr. Traube notes that the contraction of *nostri*  $\bar{n}i$  on *fol.* 63a is pre-Carolingian.

The text of the *Quicumque* does not call for any special remark. But it is interesting to note that Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier, which is not far from Péronne, recorded, about 814, that the faith of S. Athanasius was sung by his school in procession on Rogation Days with the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>2</sup>

#### § 4.—CODEX MONACENSIS LAT. 6298 (Fris. 98).

The MS. is described in the Catalogue as "membr. in 2<sup>o</sup> saec. vii/viii, 114 fol., caractere anglo-saxonico binis columnis scriptus." Its size is  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. A modern note ascribes it to Corbinian, first Bishop of Freising (+ 730), but without authority, though it certainly comes from the Cathedral at Freising. On *fol.* 3<sup>o</sup> a certain Amalricus has added rhymes and a prayer in a hand of the eleventh century.

A facsimile of *fol.* 71b was published by Silvestre, *Paléographie IV*, f. 12, but it is much less accurate than a photograph.

<sup>1</sup> *Willelm. Malmesh.*, 5, 191 (188), ed. Hamilton, pp. 337 and 333.

<sup>2</sup> Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abb. de Saint Riquier*, pub. F. Lot, Paris, 1894.

The MS. contains a collection of sermons which were probably made by Caesarius of Arles, beginning with a preface *Prologus siue humilis suggestio*, which is certainly from his pen. It is immediately followed by the *Quicumque* without a title. The text contains many erasures, but does not confirm the argument that the text of the creed was still in a transitional state. The MS. agrees in one unimportant variant with the Profession of Denebert, Bishop-elect of Worcester, A.D. 798, against all other MSS., clause 5 enim est. It probably represents the complete text from which he quoted such clauses as seemed necessary.<sup>1</sup>

From another point of view the MS. is interesting as presenting the creed at the beginning of a collection of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, to whom, as Dom Morin has shown, the authorship may with some plausibility be attributed.<sup>2</sup>

§ 5.—CODEX AMBROSIANUS O 212 *sup.*, *saec.* vii/viii.

This MS. came to the Ambrosian Library at Milan from the Monastery of Bobbio. It is a thin quarto volume of 18 folios, 10 in.  $\times$  7½ in. It is written in an Irish hand, to be compared with the script of the Antiphonary of Bangor. In the opinion of Dr. Ceriani, the Librarian, both MSS. were probably written about the same time, *i.e.*, the end of the seventh century. Dr. Traube does not say more than seventh or eighth century,<sup>3</sup> but I think that anyone who has carefully examined the MS., without prepossessions, will be well content to leave the date  $\pm$  700. In either case, it supplies a link to connect the later eighth century MSS. of the creed with the seventh century quotations.

The MS. contains (i), The Book of Ecclesiastical Dogmas written by Gennadius, (ii), the Faith of Bachiarus with a short prayer, (iii), the *Quicumque* without title, (iv), a sermon on the Ascension, (v), (in a slightly later eighth century hand) the Creed of Damasus under the title "The Faith of Jerome."<sup>4</sup>

The text of the *Quicumque* on fol. 14r is of the earlier type, but there are two variations, which have been supposed to point to a transitional form of text.

In cl. 22, after *procedens*, the words *patri et filio coaeternus est* are added. They occur, however, in the treatise of Gennadius, and twice in the Faith of Bachiarus, which precede the *Quicumque* in this MS., so it was very natural that the copyist should insert them. There is no reason whatever for the assumption that they must have been added after the rise of the controversy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, *i.e.*, 757. Such teaching was familiar to theologians of the seventh century through the writings of Augustine,<sup>5</sup> and instances may be multiplied in which the phrase occurs, *e.g.*, Canon of the Third Council of Toledo.

In cl. 29 the words *ante saecula genitus* have been added by another hand. It is more probable that they were omitted through carelessness, like the words *sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti* of cl. 6, than that they were lacking in the original text. Swainson suggests

<sup>1</sup> Among recent discoveries of episcopal professions of faith which quote the *Quicumque* in part I may mention *Cod. Sessorianus* 52 (clauses 4–6, 15, 16, 20–22, 24, 31, 30); and *Cod. Gandavensis* *saec.* ix/x, which contains a sermon on the faith addressed to a newly elected bishop, found also in *Ordo Romanus* (ed. Hittorp, p. 74).

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Bénédicte*, Oct., 1901.

<sup>3</sup> *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> The list of contents in a late hand on the first page omits the *Quicumque* and includes five other documents which were not to be found in the MS. even in the seventeenth century. *Vid.* Muratori, *Anecdota*, ii, 224.

<sup>5</sup> *de Trin.*, vi, 13; *de Civ. Dei*, xi, 24.



that they were added "by someone who, in his love for antithesis, lost sight of the original meaning."<sup>1</sup> But the antithesis in question was almost a commonplace in the theology of the fifth century,<sup>2</sup> so that there is no reason to doubt that they had a definite and satisfactory meaning in the mind of the author. It is true that in the Trèves fragment they have been rewritten over an erasure, but this is part of a sermon in which the writer allowed himself liberties in dealing with the text, and must not be accepted as presenting the earliest text. In *Cod. Monacensis lat.* 6298 the words are missing, but so are the words which follow *et homo est ex substantia matris*, obviously by mere oversight of the copyist.

### § 6.—CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions which may be drawn from these texts are of two kinds, textual and historical. Without attempting to give a complete *apparatus criticus* I will print the text of the creed and add some notes on those doubtful readings, not many in number, on which these MSS. throw light, using the following symbols—*Cod. Ambrosianus* A; Leidrat's MS. L<sub>4</sub>; *Cod. lat. Monacensis* M<sub>1</sub>; *Cod. Petriburg.* C;—these being the symbols used in my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 189 ff.

- 1 2 Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit absque dubio in aeternum peribit.
- 3 Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur :
- 4 5 neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. Alia est enim persona patris
- 6 alia Filii alia Spiritus Sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna majestas.
- 7 8 Qualis Pater talis Filius talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Increatus Pater increatus Filius increatus
- 9 10 et Spiritus Sanctus. Immensus Pater immensus Filius immensus et Spiritus Sanctus. Aeternus
- 11 Pater aeternus Filius aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus
- 12 aeternus: sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi sed unus increatus et unus immensus.
- 13 14 Similiter omnipotens Pater omnipotens Filius omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens.
- 15 16 Ita Deus Pater Deus Filius Deus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres Dii sed unus est
- 17 18 Deus. Ita Dominus Pater Dominus Filius Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres
- 19 Domini sed unus est Dominus. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.
- 20 21 Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo est non factus nec creatus
- 22 sed genitus. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed
- 23 procedens. Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres, unus Filius non tres Filii, unus Spiritus
- 24 Sanctus non tres Spiritus Sancti. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus
- 25 aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales: ita ut per omnia sicut jam supradictum est et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit.
- 26 27 Qui vult ergo salvus esse ita de Trinitate sentiat, sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.
- 28 Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei
- 29 Filius et Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus et

<sup>1</sup> *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. *Enchiridion*, 35; Vincentius, *Commonitorium*, 19.

- 30 homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus. Perfectus Deus perfectus homo ex anima  
 31 rationali et humana carne subsistens. Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patri  
 32 secundum humanitatem. Qui licet Deus sit et homo non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.  
 33 34 Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deo. Unus  
 35 omnino non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro  
 36 unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus: qui passus est pro salute nostra,  
 37 descendit ad inferos, resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris: inde  
 38 venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos, ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum  
 39 corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in  
 vitam aeternam, qui mala in ignem aeternum.  
 40 Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non  
 poterit.

The variations are few in number and unimportant in character.

In cl. 7 *om* et  $L_4$  *corr*; and in 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17 *om* et  $CL_4$  *corr*. There can be little question that  $AM_1$  preserve the older reading, which is the reading of the earliest commentaries.

In cl. 22  $ACL_4M_1$  preserve the more rhythmical and probably correct ending *génitus sed procedens* (*cursus uelox*).

In cl. 25  $L_4$  has what is certainly the later reading > *Unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in Unitate*. In cl. 28 *om* pariter  $L_4$ . All the MSS. taken together are almost equally divided, but in many of those which originally contained *pariter* it has been erased. This shows that a strong feeling existed against it in the ninth century. Certainly the rhythm *Déus et hómo* (*cursus planus*) is broken by it, and this would be felt to be an objection at the time when the creed was finding its way into Psalters as a canticle, since the old plain song was founded on the *Cursus Leoninus*. But in its earlier use as an Instruction the inequality of the rhythm would be less noticed, and the word was probably intended to sharpen the sentence against some form of Nestorian error. This view of its history is confirmed by the fact that it is found in the Trèves fragment, and in the exposition of the Fortunatus Commentary, although the commentator does not quote it in his text.

In cl. 33  $BCM_1$  have the readings *carne . . . Deo* with the great majority of early MSS. and the earliest commentaries.  $L_4$  has *carnem . . . Deo* with the Golden Psalter at Vienna. Waterland's argument that accusatives *carnem . . . Deum* have been changed into ablatives to confute Eutychian error still has weight. The balance of preference for this reading will turn upon the opinion held respecting the internal evidence, whether the creed is ascribed to Apollinarian or later times, into which I cannot enter.

The cl. 36 *ad inferos*  $BLM_1$ , *ad inferñus* C, presents a case in which the reading has probably been affected by the current reading of the Apostles' Creed, which had *inferna* in earlier forms and *inferos* in later. The evidence of the commentaries confirms the opinion that *inferna* is the best reading, and it was in the Creed of Caesarius of Arles. We find *inferos* in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary as in Cod. Bernensis N. 645, where it is probably due to Celtic influence. This may account for the reading of B. The reading *ad inferos* does not seem to have found its way into Gallican Creeds before A.D. 600, and became common about a century later.

The readings *Dei* and *omnipotentis* in verse 37 found in  $L_4M_1$  are plainly insertions from the Apostles' Creed in which they become common after 500.



I do not think that the following facsimiles throw much fresh light on the vexed question of authorship. Dom Morin's suggestion that Caesarius of Arles is the most probable author finds support in the Munich MS., in which the creed follows the prologue written by Caesarius. It is now beyond question that Caesarius knew and used the creed, and it is significant that he was in the habit of quoting great names at the head of his treatises as authorities for his teaching. This would account for the title *Fides s. Athanasii*, which does not, however, occur in the Munich MS. For those who are still impressed by Waterland's argument that the creed belongs to Apollinarian times, to the decade 420-430 which preceded the condemnation of Nestorian errors, it is open to argue that Caesarius may have received the creed from Lerins, and assimilated it so thoroughly that its phrases are woven into the ordinary texture of his thought. The theory that the creed was written by some earlier writer of the School of Lerins, whether Hilary of Arles or the first Abbot Honoratus, fits in far better with the close parallels in the *Commonitorium* of Vincentius and the probable quotation by Avitus of Vienne, who as a rival of Caesarius was not likely to set much store by any composition of his.

The trend of evidence in these early MSS. does confirm another historical conclusion, that the early use of the creed was rather as an instruction on the faith than a canticle. Leidrat's inclusion of it in a Psalter, together with revived interest in Church music, which the schools of Charles the Great began at that time to foster, leads directly to the use in the Office of Prime. For further information I must refer my readers to my *Introduction to the Creeds*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London (Methuen), 1899.





## PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG TRAUBE.

[These Notes of Dr. Traube were found ready for press among the papers which he left at his decease, and are printed by the desire of his representatives.—PAUL LEHMANN.]

### I. FACSIMILES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

#### § 1.—INTRODUCTION.

The palaeographical notes which I have added to the plates here presented should be regarded from the following standpoint. The material was collected by my respected friend, the Rev. A. E. Burn, in connection with his great and uninterrupted work on the oldest Christian symbols, but no special attention was given to palaeographical points. On the other hand, it was my peculiar province to add palaeographical notes to the collected facsimiles without regard to their liturgical contents, or, I might better say, to add such notes as are connected in a broad sense with palaeography. Though I had some years ago expressed myself ready for this work, I had the opportunity of using only the Munich and Verona MSS. as a means of testing and correcting by personal observation the opinions which I had of necessity based on photographs, printed descriptions, and lists of abbreviations made *ad hoc*. The other MSS. to which I had previously had access I studied without having yet in view a definite palaeographical work.

It need hardly be said that I shall cite liturgical works only in special cases. In general I presuppose an acquaintance with them.

For the above-mentioned facsimiles and descriptions I am indebted not only to A. E. Burn but also to the following friends and helpers:—C. U. Clark for help in Rome and Milan, Enander in Paris, P. Gabriel Meier in Einsiedeln, W. Riezler for help in St. Petersburg, C. H. Turner and P. August Merk, S.J., for help in Cologne and Milan.

#### § 2.—BERN, STADTBIBLIOTHEK, 645, FOL. 72.

*Bibliography*: On the contents of the MS. *cf.*, in addition to Hagen's *Catalogue*, Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, I, 564 and 674; Bratke, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1895, p. 153 *sqq.*; and A. E. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, London, 1899, p. 241.

The script of the manuscript I would designate as an intermediate step between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule. With this may be compared a number of French manuscripts, *e.g.*, Cambrai 624 (*Album Paléographique*, pl. 13), Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 1, Chatelain, *Scriptura Uncialis*, tab. C), Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 2), Karlsruhe Aug. CCLIII, St. Petersburg F.I. 5, F.I. 6, O.I. 4. All these manuscripts originated in the seventh and eighth centuries. Their similarity, however, to the

Bernensis is nowhere striking. The St. Petersburg MSS., originally from Corbie, and Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619, have more the peculiar character of the half-uncial. (The Bernensis, however, shows on other pages some half-uncial and uncial forms, for example, the *g*, which do not appear on fol. 72.) The Karlsruhe MS., formerly in Reichenau, has more cursive elements. The MS. Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597, which belonged to the cloister of St. Benedict at Fleury, shows the closest resemblance, but there are yet individual differences, for example, in the sign for *m* (in the Floriacensis  $\sim$  and  $\div$ , in the Bernensis only  $-$ ), which are not to be mistaken. One would be inclined to place the Bern MS., if possible, even before the eighth century, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the eighth century. Still, the system of abbreviations, incomplete it is true, but also in some respects developed, induces me to assign as late a date as the middle of the eighth century; for example, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>  $\overline{d}\overline{u}\overline{s} \overline{n}\overline{r} \overline{i}\overline{h}\overline{s} \overline{x}\overline{p}\overline{s}$  but on the same page also  $\overline{d}\overline{u}\overline{m} \overline{n}\overline{r} \overline{i}\overline{h}\overline{m} \overline{x}\overline{p}\overline{m}$ ; on fol. 53 is again written correctly  $\overline{d}\overline{i} \overline{n}\overline{r}\overline{i}$ . See Traube, *Perrona Scottorum, Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, p. 521 [and *Nomina Sacra*, p. 229]. Also on the page here presented  $\overline{i}\overline{h}\overline{u}\overline{m}$  is put falsely for  $\overline{i}\overline{h}\overline{m}$  (the writer wished, besides, to write originally  $\overline{x}\overline{p}\overline{m} \overline{i}\overline{h}\overline{m}$  in reverse order; likewise, line 2,  $\overline{f}\overline{i}\overline{l}\overline{i}\overline{u}\overline{m}$  seems corrected from  $\overline{f}\overline{i}\overline{l}\overline{i}\overline{u}\overline{s}$ ). Quite striking, on fol. 57<sup>v</sup>, is  $\overline{p}\overline{r}\overline{p}\overline{t}$  for *propter*, which might be explained as a confusion with the legitimate Spanish form  $\overline{p}\overline{p}\overline{t}\overline{r}$ ; likewise the following  $\overline{p}\overline{s}\overline{c}\overline{l}\overline{i}\overline{s}$  for *paschalis* is formed in the Spanish manner. Still, in these places, which are a part of the *Cyclus Paschalis* of Victorius Aquitanus, the South-French original is probably reflected. This may also be true of the few cases where *u*, not at the end of the line, but within the line, is designated by the cursive *v*, written above, e.g., fol. 59  $\overline{q}\overline{u}\overline{o}\overline{d} \overline{a}\overline{l}\overline{i}\overline{q}\overline{u}\overline{o}\overline{c}\overline{i}\overline{e}\overline{n}\overline{s}$ . *Episcopus* ( $\overline{e}\overline{p}\overline{s}$  etc.) and Israel ( $\overline{i}\overline{s}\overline{r}\overline{l}$ ) are treated regularly.

§ 3. PARIS LAT. 13246, FOL. 88. SACRAMENTARIUM GALLICANUM.

*Bibliography*: The MS. is completely described by Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* III, 224 [and since Traube's death, by Dom A. Wilmart in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, edited by Dom F. Cabrol, fasc. xv. col. 941 sqq.].

*Facsimiles*: L. Delisle, *loc. cit.*, enumerates what he has before him; the small engraving which Mabillon published in the *Musaeum Italicum*, and the later facsimiles of these few lines. Delisle himself gives again some lines on pl. XV, 6 and 7, and pl. XVII, 6. [Four pages are reproduced by Dom A. Wilmart, *loc. cit.*]

In the year 1681 Mabillon had already published his chief work. Not until 1685 did he undertake the journey to Italy, which was far too late and far too short for real scientific benefit. On the way home he spent three days at the monastery of Bobbio, which had long ceased to have its best MSS. Before him lay, as he tells later, only *magni nominis umbra*. Still he borrowed, among other things, and thus indirectly secured for the home of scientific palaeography, *codicem Liturgiae Gallicanae optimaе notae litteris maiusculis exaratum*<sup>1</sup>: this MS. is now 13246 of the National Library in Paris.

There is, therefore, no possible doubt of the provenance of our MS. If its script corresponded only in some measure to the character of Bobbio, which indeed changes and

<sup>1</sup> *Musaeum Italicum*, Paris, 1724, T. i, pag. 217.



often varies, but is, on the whole, well known,—did provenance and origin thus seem to coincide, any further word would be superfluous.<sup>1</sup> But such is not the case; the MS.—not only the actual original (the Sacramentarium Gallicanum with the Creed) but the many contemporaneous or later appendices (which Delisle presents exactly)—is so uncalligraphically written, and occupies so exceptional a position that it demands investigation and discussion.

In the first place, since palaeography gives only negative information and leads us away from Bobbio, we must observe the “culture-influences” which appear in the MS., and which might, perhaps, point to another definite centre.

First, there are without question strong SPANISH SYMPTOMS. For example, the word-form *Romensis*,<sup>2</sup> cf. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 129 (= *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie*, XXI, iii, 727), which passed over from Spain to France, and is found also, e.g., in Rome Reg. lat. 317 and Gotha membr. I, 85. A part of the appendices, fol. 294, *de tempore nativitatibus Christi*, appears again in a Spanish MS. of saec. viii, now Albi 29, cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III, 728. The so-called *Ioca Monachorum*, again in the appendices, have also a distant connection with Spain; cf. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIV, 58. Nevertheless, script (together with the abbreviations) and orthography throughout the MS. are anything but Spanish. We find everywhere the type *nī* with some cases of the type *nri*, but nowhere the Spanish forms of *noster*; for *Israel* is written *isrl̄*, not *srl̄* or one of the other Spanish forms; *qm̄* and *sc̄m̄*, which appear, are indeed originally Spanish formations, but soon became fairly wide-spread; *p̄* stands in the actual MS. for *per*, and likewise, here and there, *p̄* for *pro*; only in the appendices does *p̄* stand also for *per*, but this abbreviation is not only Spanish, but also early French.

More significant in our MS. than the Spanish influences are the IRISH. The liturgists are now agreed on this point.<sup>3</sup> To their arguments may be added a reference to the orthography that appears occasionally in the appendices: *concesione*, *posedet*, *preceset* (= *praccessit*), *pasionem*, *mcsam* (= *missam*). Such forms which, it is true, remind us again of Spain, we are accustomed to regard in general as Irish.

Indications thus seem to point back to Bobbio. Correspondingly significant for ITALY, and likewise for BOBBIO, is the mention of St. Eugenia (*Eogenia* in Mabillon, I, 2, pp. 281 and 289). Formerly, in the *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (p. 103 = 701), I had declared that the matter still stood as in the time of Mabillon: the cult of Eugenia could not be fully localized. In the meantime, Ebner (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg, 1896, p. 424) found two unquestionably Italian MSS. with an invocation to Eugenia: Rome Sess. CXXXVI, saec. xi (from Como), and Florence Laur. Aed., CXI, saec. x (from Florence). To these MSS., it is true, is opposed the *Regula Magistri* (cf. *Textgeschichte*, loc. cit.). Here also Sancta Eugenia appears, though neither the rule itself nor the MSS. of the rule can be from Italy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I consider Dom Cagin's assumption that the contents of the MS. point directly to Bobbio disproved by Duchesne, Lejay and Morin.

<sup>2</sup> I have since found many other examples that prove that *Romensis* was the Spanish form for *Romanus*, and that the form spread from Spain into Gaul. Martène's Murbach MS., which contains the *Breviarium ecclesiae ordinis Rominsae*, I have, in the meantime, found in Gotha.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bannister, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903), 54.

<sup>4</sup> The same is true of the Sacramentarium of Gellone, in which *Eogenia* is likewise invoked.

If, however, we wished to accept the two Italian MSS. instead of the *Regula Magistri*, the script is decidedly against a localization in Italy; it has absolutely none of the Bobbio characteristics. In Bobbio, Irish and Italian culture meet, and something in the script and the abbreviations of the *Codices Bobienses* indicates the product of this double stream. We see either Italian script with insular abbreviations, or insular script with Italian abbreviations, often both together in the same MS. But where such crossing has not taken place, one of the two elements, the insular or the Italian, is wont to be so strongly and clearly developed that there can be no doubt of the origin of the MS. In regard to Parisinus 13246, however, the script of the MS. itself is uncial without Irish influence, in the appendices uncial mixed with minuscule, likewise without any insular note. There are no insular abbreviations.

If we seek, however, another centre besides Bobbio, where Irish influence could affect the writer, and where the script of the codex would be more appropriate, our thoughts turn from Italy to Gaul, from Bobbio to Luxeuil. Mabillon had long before thought of Luxeuil, but not exactly from palaeographical reasons. We also will speak guardedly. Columban's monastery in France is distinguished from his Italian in that the Irish element has had no effect whatever on the character of the script, which remains Gallic. Script and abbreviations in Paris 13246 are just as possible for Luxeuil as they are impossible for Bobbio. To be sure I could not argue in defence of a particular similarity. But the MS. is older than the other known examples from Luxeuil. In the language the above-mentioned Irish peculiarity of the appendices might well be significant of Luxeuil. Other methods of spelling, *e.g.*, the above-mentioned *Eogenia*, and *seo*, find corresponding types in the tradition of many Gallic MSS. (*cf.* Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, II, 163; *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 114, adn. 3). The often very vulgar language of the appendices seemed to the linguists to point at least more to France than to Italy; *cf.* P. Meyer, *Romania*, I (1872), 489, Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, V (1874), 103, and the latter in *Mélanges Latins et Bas-Latins*, Montpellier, 1875. Still, these are general remarks that speak only partly for France as opposed to Italy. Of special arguments that might be adduced in favour of Luxeuil, with the exception of the Irish peculiarities and the close relations between Bobbio and Luxeuil, only the following is of value. The name *Bertulfus*, which appears, fol. 197<sup>v</sup>, on the margin of Parisinus (just as in other places: *Elderatus*, *Manubertus*, *Dacolena*,<sup>1</sup> and *Bonolo*) was referred by Mabillon to the Abbot of Bobbio (+ 639). But Bertulfus came to Bobbio in the year 626 from Luxeuil. Accordingly, we might rather assume, if a connection exists, that Bertulfus brought the book with him to Bobbio. Still, this is a mere possibility. If we wish to restrict ourselves to the limits of probability we may say: the Parisinus is a work scarcely calligraphic, and difficult to localize and date; probably the MS. belongs to France as an example of the barbarous seventh century. Irish influences, reflected in the contents and the orthography, might point to Luxeuil or to a centre which enjoyed conditions similar to those of this Irish monastery in France. If it be said with still greater caution: the MS. belonged to Bobbio, but was written by a scribe accustomed, not to the script of Bobbio, but to the French, the appendices could rightly be cited against the argument, since they also do not use the script of Bobbio.

<sup>1</sup> Förstemann mentions a Dacolenus from a document of Moissac, *a.* 680 (Pardessus, *Diplomata*, II, 185).



§ 4.—ROME PAL. LAT. 493, FOL. 16, 16<sup>r</sup>, 17. SO-CALLED MISSALE GALLICANUM VETUS.

*Bibliography*: On this MS., cf. Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg i.B., 1896, p. 246 (which includes previous literature on the subject). To this may be added the new edition of Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898, p. 144, and the second volume of F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1900, *passim*.

*Facsimiles*: I know only the engraving in Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venice, 1748, Vol. II, opposite p. 391. Ebner designates a facsimile on p. 430 as "the title page from Cod. Palat. 493," but this is incorrect. The facsimile corresponds rather to Rome Reg. 317, fol. 169<sup>r</sup>.

Delisle (*Mémoires de l'Institut, Ac. des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXXII, p. 73) rightly says: "Ces cent six feuillets forment treize cahiers, dont les douze premiers sont les débris d'un ou de deux sacramentaires." In fact, apart from the appendix (fol. 100 *sqq.*), which does not belong to the original MS., three hands are to be distinguished. Of these, one is again so unlike the others, and the arrangement of this part of the MS. is so different that one is inclined to presuppose not only another hand but even another MS. To this belong the third quire (fol. 34-43), the fourth and fifth (fol. 19-33), the sixth to the twelfth (fol. 44-99); on all these pages the MS. has twenty lines. On the other hand, the first quire with sixteen lines (fol. 1-10) and the second with fourteen lines (fol. 11-18) resemble each other closely in script and initial ornamentation. The same variation in the number of lines occurs, moreover, in the closely related Rome Reg. lat. 317, where the first part has fourteen, the second part twenty lines, so that a conclusion based on such differences is far from certain.

Strictly within the limits of palaeography the elements for the criticism of the MS. are the following. The uncial, the occasional minuscule (fol. 10<sup>r</sup>, line 3 from the end, *per dñm*; fol. 17 twice *cre<do>* by another hand), and the ornamentation are peculiar, and clearly hark back to what I have called the "School of Luxeuil." The appendix was written in a German centre, perhaps Murbach, in the ninth century. The entire MS. belonged later to the cloister of St. Nazarius in Lorsch.

There remains to be discussed the close relationship between Palat. lat. 493 and Reg. lat. 317. Both MSS. have often been compared palaeographically and in respect to contents. The connection is evidently close. To me Palatinus seems somewhat younger than Reginensis; it stands to Reginensis perhaps in the relation of a nephew. Further, Reginensis can be more exactly placed than Palatinus. It was written after 680 for the diocese of Autun. We may therefore, perhaps, say of Palatinus: it belongs to the School of Luxeuil, was written at the beginning of the eighth century, and came from Burgundy to Lorsch in the ninth century by way of one of the cloisters that had relations with Germany.

§ 5.—PARIS LAT. 12048, FOL. 181 AND 191<sup>r</sup>. SACRAMENTARIUM AND MARTYROLOGIUM OF GELLONE.

*Bibliography*: Description in Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, 221 ff.; Delisle, *Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXII, 80. Further, on the origin, cf. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* 123 (= 721); Dom

Cagin in *Mélanges Cabrières*, Paris, 1899, I, 231 ff.; Dom Quentin, *Revue Benedictine*, XX (1903), 370 f.

*Facsimiles*: Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, pl. XIV, 8. He adds also, *loc. cit.*<sup>1</sup>, the older copies in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, in Bastard (according to Delisle's numbering, pl. 49-61), in *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance*, and in the *Palaographie Universelle*, cf. also Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I (Paris, 1905), 313 sq.

It is the custom to designate the script of this beautiful codex as Spanish (*écriture visigothique*). The authors of the *Nouveau Traité* were the first to do so; Silvestre, Delisle, Molinier (*Les Manuscrits et les Miniatures*, Paris, 1892, p. 99), Chatelain (*Introduction à la Lecture des Notes Tironiennes*, Paris, 1900, p. 120), Leprieur (in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, *loc. cit.*) and others have accepted the designation, but Delisle expresses himself in one place much more cautiously, and speaks of "Écriture demi-onciale qui se rattache à l'école visigothique" (*Mémoires*, *loc. cit.*, p. 81).

Further, there are peculiarities in the orthography which might be significant of Spain: e.g., *heradicare*, *hunum*, *dihutius*, *habysi* (= *abyssi*), but we meet such also in France.

The abbreviations remind us here and there of the Spanish. Thus *usr̄m* (= *uestrum*), *ms* (= *meus*), and *m̄o* (= *mco*). The letters also are coloured partly in Spanish fashion, especially the *g*. In general, however, many palaeographical considerations oppose the assumption of Spanish origin. The words *noster* and *ueter* (with the exception of the above-mentioned form), *Israel*, *nomen*, *autem*, *per*, and *pro*, in the abbreviated forms used in our MS., have not Spanish, but French style. The whole MS., to judge from the script, belongs to the category of French MSS. of the transition period, cited above in explanation of the Bernensis.

The miniatures and ornaments (the "Buchschruck," as we say) are very peculiar and have no exact parallels among pre-Carlovingian and Carlovingian MSS. Janitschek (*Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 69) assumes Syrian influences. That the Orient has had some effect on this kind of book-painting may certainly be asserted even by those who do not accept all Strzygowski's brilliant hypotheses. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the examples that may be adduced from extant Latin MSS. for comparison with the MS. of Gellone originated in Spanish territory. Is the MS. then perhaps more closely connected with Spain than we would believe? As early as the ninth century, as the later insertions show—Delisle enumerates them, p. 222—the MS. was in Gellone in the South-French diocese of Lodève, i.e., within the sphere of Spanish influence. But just these additions and marginal notes, which are clearly distinguished from the script of the Sacramentarium and Martyrologium, and are plainly Carlovingian in character, prove that the connection of the MS. with Gellone was not established until the ninth century.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to stop at this rather negative information. In fact, Sollier has already noticed<sup>2</sup> that definite original notes in the text of the Martyrologium have special reference to the cloister Rebais in the diocese of Meaux. To these cases Dom Quentin has added still another, which proves that the MS. was written while Romanus was Bishop of Meaux. This settles the date, with considerable certainty, about the year 750.

<sup>1</sup> [i.e., in the *Mém. de l'Institut*, xxxii, 80.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Traube, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.



To this period and this region correspond perfectly the stage of development of the abbreviations in the MS. We recognize this especially in *noster* and *uoster*. The nominative *nt̃*<sup>1</sup>, the declension follows the type *nt̃*, forms of the type *nri* are rare.

To sum up, I would say : the MS. was written *ca. a. 750* for and probably *in* the diocese of Meaux ; the calligrapher or calligraphers who worked at it were perhaps influenced somewhat by Spanish teaching.

§ 6.—COD. EINSIDLENSIS 199, PP. 473 AND 474. FROM THE DICTA ABBATIS PRIMINII.

*Bibliography*: For an exact description of the MSS. Einsiedeln 199 and Einsiedeln 281 *cf.* P. Gabriel Meier, in the *Catalogus Codicum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, p. 155 *sqq.* and 257 *sqq.* [also L. Traube, *Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1907, p. 71 *sqq.*].

*Facsimiles*: None yet published. [L. Traube, *l.c. tab. I.*]

Through familiarity with the treasures of his own home, and love for them, P. Gabriel Meier, Librarian of Einsiedeln, brought his investigations to so successful a conclusion that from the two Einsiedeln MSS. 199 and 281 the following old homiliary can be reconstructed :—

Quires I–X = 281, pp. 1–148.

„ X–XV = 199, pp. 431–526.

„ XVI (– XVII ?) = 281, pp. 149–178.

Still, it remains an open question whether these 16 or 17 quires, which are now separate but were probably connected in the ninth century, were from the first beginning intended for the same book. It is possible, though the hands change and one scribe seems later than the other or the others. Our selection belongs to the part that gives the impression of greatest age.

We see before us a script that was at home in a large district : in Chur, St. Gallen, Reichenau, in Murbach, in various Bavarian monasteries, from the closing years of the eighth century down to the first decades of the ninth.<sup>2</sup> Thus, appropriately, the MS. contains the *Dicta Priminii*, of which our own plate gives an example. It is easy to imagine that the script of the founder of monastic life in Reichenau and in Murbach was propagated in the type general in Alamannic land.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the peculiar type of this script and its origin. I may only briefly mention, what strikes the eye of every palaeographer, that it is the result of a many-sided movement ; the minuscule developing in France, as it came under the influence of the School of Monte Cassino, which was likewise in a state of development, was forced in a peculiar calligraphic direction.

The homiliary reconstructed by P. Meier is older than the founding of the monastery at Einsiedeln, by which it has been preserved. Still, there are other MSS. in Einsiedeln that show the same type, *e.g.*, 157 *Gregorius in Ezechielem*, s. viii/ix ; 199 pp. 257–430,

<sup>1</sup> The nominative forms *nst* and *ust* have also been given me (*cf. Perrona Scottorum*, p. 516). Since they do not appear in the copies and photographs to which I have access, I prefer to omit them for the present as uncertain. [*Cf. Nomina Sacra*, p. 224.]

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Traube, Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 54 (= 652) and 66 (= 664).



*Canones*, s. ix; 357 Rufinus *Historia ecclesiastica*, s. viii/ix. It might be thought that these MSS. came directly, perhaps from Reichenau, to Einsiedeln, but an interpolation on p. 452 of Codex 199 indicates a different course.

On this page, between 14 lines of the text, which contains a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, is written, in early twelfth-century letters, an extremely valuable interlinear version of an evident Romance dialect. P. Meier considers it related to the Spanish. I, however, am convinced that we have here the oldest example of a Rhaeto-Romanic branch, and Gustav Gröber informs me, that the Romanic has the colour of the Romontsch dialect of the Upper Rhine Valley. I, therefore, believe—and have already so indicated in *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, p. 514)—that the MS. came to Einsiedeln from Rhaetian territory. It may also have been written there.

With this Rhaetian origin I have, *loc. cit.*, also connected a peculiarity in the abbreviations of the homiliary. Through Pater Meier's friendly help I can now give further information on the subject. The parts of MSS. 199 and 281 combined by him show almost everywhere the type  $\overline{ni}$ , etc., for *nostri*, etc. To this belongs the nominative  $\overline{nr}$  (= *noster*). Of forms of the type  $\overline{nri}$  there appears only once  $\overline{nrn}$ . It is strange that on pp. 432, 445, 473, 474 (*cf.* our plate) and 481 of Codex 199, and on p. 13 of Codex 281, the pure Spanish form *nsn*, instead of  $\overline{nn}$  or  $\overline{nrn}$ , appears twice. Formerly I attributed these traces of Spanish formation to the school in which the homiliary was written. Now, however, on account of the rarity of the Spanish forms, which at that time I had not fully studied, it seems more probable to assume that they came over from the original. They are lacking in the other homilies contained in Cod. 199 and 281; they are found only in the *Dicta Priminii*. Nothing is known of the origin of Priminus except that he came to Alamannia as *Peregrinus*. This is often interpreted that he came from Ireland or England. May I express the supposition that Priminus was perhaps a Spaniard, that the strange name is a transformation of *Pimenius* (= Ποιμένιος) through the influence of *Primus* and *Primigenius*?

The orthography of the MS., the language in general of the individual parts, are very unequal; *cf.* Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, I. (Christiania, 1883), p. VIII *sqq.*, p. 151 *sqq.*, p. 215 *sqq.*; the same, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de Sacrilegiis* (Christiania, 1886), p. 52 *sqq.* One meets for the most part Gallic or general Romance peculiarities. With regard to exclusively Spanish origin I can prove nothing with certainty; *ressurgere* and *ressurrectio*, as always in the *Dicta Priminii*, can be Spanish as well as Irish.

## II. FACSIMILES OF THE NICENE CREED.

### § 1.—ROME VATIC. LAT. 1322, CANONES.

*Bibliography*: Bethmann, *Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xii, 224; Maassen, *Geschichte d. Quellen . . . des canonischen Rechts*, I, 737, 745, *Spicilegium Casinense* (ed. Amelli), tom. I (a. 1888), p. xxx.  
*Facsimiles*: *Leonis Magni opera* ed. Cacciari II (a. 1755) p. lxxv; *Spicilegium Casinense*, tab. III.

The MS. consists of two parts: fol. 1-24, *sacc.* ix; fol. 25-285, *sacc.* vi/vii. It comes from Verona. This is proved not only by the entry in a fifteenth-century hand on fol. 25 *de Verona*, and the Veronese official documents which are appended to it, to which must be added the connection with the collection of the MS. of Novara, which at least is in favour of tracing it to a home in North Italy, but also by the handwriting. The first part is a minuscule of a type that is known to us in many MSS. in Verona, and may, perhaps, be brought into connection with the Veronese Archdeacon Pacificus (+844). As Pacificus was in touch with West Frankish scholars (*e.g.*, Hildemar of Corbie) so this handwriting, which has deviated from the old Italian character, may well have been derived from France.

But the handwriting of the second part, which lies before us, may also belong to Verona. It is half uncial, but no longer the pure hand of the fifth and sixth centuries, rather of the second Italian stage. An eye accustomed to the older half uncial recognizes the difference at once, and does not need that attention should be drawn to the separate faults in style (*e.g.*, the uncial  $\delta$  instead of the half uncial  $d$ ).<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations tell their tale most plainly here—*peccator* $\chi$ , *mortuo* $\eta$ , *uer* $\chi$ , *iter* $\chi$  (where  $r$  struck through by a slanting stroke means *rum*). These abbreviations as they appear here (and on fol. 153<sup>r</sup> and 154) are not known in the older half uncial. But quite similar handwriting with such abbreviations is to be found in the half uncial writing of Verona liii (51), *Facundus de tribus capitulis* and *contra Mucianum*, and lix (57), *Canones*.

Verona liii (51), Verona lix (57), Vatic. lat. 1322, judging by their contents, cannot have been written before the end of the sixth century. The composition of the treatise of Facundus against Mucianus is ascribed to about A.D. 571. Here we must leave out of the question the fact that in Verona liii (51) fol. 288, *scae mm* stands by the name of the author which Reifferscheid (*Bibliotheca patrum latt. Italica*, I, 55) certainly rightly interprets as *sanctae memoriae*, because a similar addition is occasionally found relating to living authors. Still Verona liii (51) is of course not the original.

The Canons in Verona lix (57) include, as Maassen (*loc. cit.* pag. 763) points out, as the latest portion of their contents the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in the edition of Rusticus. The MS. must therefore have come into existence after A.D. 550. The same remark holds good of Vatic. lat. 1322 since the MS. in its half uncial portion also contained the Canons of the Council of Chalcedon in the edition of Rusticus.

Verona lix (57) and Vatic. lat. 1322 are probably the oldest MSS. of the work of Rusticus, but most certainly neither the one nor the other is the ancestor of our tradition, they are rather both of them off-shoots, since they leave out the observations of Rusticus, which would otherwise have been inserted.

The palaeographer is strangely affected by the occurrence of capitals among the half-uncial in Vatic. lat. 1322, the more so as these capitals are of a very bad style and suggest a later date. The copyist uses them not only in titles but also for beginnings and to give emphasis. Apart from fol. 153<sup>r</sup> and 154, *e.g.*, on fol. 34, which page begins thus: *temptant adsurgere quae supra ho/minem sunt cogitamus* (the rest of the line free, up to this point in half uncials)/ *CONFITEMUR ETENIM*  $\overline{D}N\overline{M}$   $\overline{N}M$   $\overline{I}H\overline{M}$   $\overline{X}P\overline{M}$  *FILIUM D $\overline{I}$  UNIGENITUM \* D $\overline{M}$  PERFECTUM/* *et hominem perfectum* (etc., again in half uncials).

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the uncial  $\varsigma$  instead of the half uncial  $\zeta$ , which is next noticed, is found also in older half uncial MSS.



§ 2.—TOULOUSE 364 (I 63), fol. 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 104, 104<sup>v</sup>.

*Bibliography*: cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (old series), VII, 203, *sqq.*; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, I, 592 (on the Albi MS.); and especially C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 266–273.

*Facsimile*: An unsatisfactory facsimile is found in F. Schulte, *Iter Gallicum, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Classe, LIX (1868), 422, Facsimile V.

That we do not, in the case of this MS., have to satisfy ourselves with the general statement: "Uncials of the period of decline," is due only to a brilliant discovery of C. H. Turner.

Turner recognized that Toulouse 364 (= T) and Paris lat. 8901 (= P) are original parts of one and the same great MS. of canons. But he recognized further that, in a much later MS., Albi 2 (= A), we possess a copy of the original MS., which was made when the latter had not yet been divided. From A we see also what parts of the original MS. no longer exist in the original; for A = T + P + X. This X, which exists in A, even though only in a ninth century copy, helps us, among other things, to so exact a dating and localization of T and P, that we are scarcely more fortunate in any other MS. of the same epoch.

On fol. 177<sup>r</sup> of Albi 2 we have: Ego Perpetuus quamvis indignus presbyter/iussus a domino meo Didone urbis Albi/gensium episcopum (epm. *cod.*) hunc librum canonum/scripsi. Post incendium civitatis ipsius hic liber recuperatus (re in loco raso, peratus *superscr. cod.*) fuit deo auxiliante (auxiliant *cod.*)/sub die VIII (VIII *superscr. cod.*) Kl. Ag. ann. 1111 regnante (regnant *cod.*) domini nostri Childerici reg.

This subscription, as had already been seen, cannot refer to the later MS. A; it must refer, as Turner was the first to establish, to the original of A, therefore to T and P. The Toulouse MS. was accordingly written by a presbyter Perpetuus at the command of Bishop Dido of Albi, of whom we unfortunately know nothing further. As far as *scripsi*, Perpetuus himself is the author of the statement. The words that follow were added in the original of A by a later hand, probably in cursive writing. They state that the MS. (the *Liber Canonum*, as Perpetuus had said), after the burning of the town Albi, of which event we hear only in this *subscriptio*, was recovered July 25, 666 or 667.<sup>1</sup>

Further, we have also a limit on the other side. A contains a list of popes,<sup>2</sup> which is lacking in T and P. This also must have been in the original of the *Liber Canonum*. While, in the case of the other popes, the years, months and days of each rule are given in the list, Gregorius (the Great) with whom the list ends, has, instead of the correct statement:

*Gregorius sed. an. XIII mens. II d. X*

the false and incomplete:

*Gregorius sed. an. LXV.*

<sup>1</sup> On these figures, supported by the dating of Krusch and Havet, cf. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, II, 43, and Turner, *loc. cit.*, p. 272. To me it seems probable that the exact date indicates both the day of the fire and the day of the recovery of the library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 27; Mommsen, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, xxxix.



From this one may conclude—and Duchesne and Turner have correctly concluded—that the *Liber Canonum* was written after Pope Gregory had come into power. With Turner we can now say: the MS. Toulouse 364 was written at Albi, near Toulouse, between the years *ca.* 600 and 666.

This placing agrees well with the style of the uncial and some words in cursive writing (P fol. 28 and 35) and with the method of abbreviation. Turner has already pointed out that the use of the compendium for *per*, in a form that is otherwise employed for *pro*, betrays the neighbourhood of Spain. Forms of the genitive plural, such as *eporm*, *diacorm*, *prbtrorm*, *scrm* can be similarly explained.

If on fol. 104 *OMOVSION* is marked by a stroke, we must remember that it was a general rule thus to distinguish Greek, and foreign words in general (*e.g.*, also Hebrew), from their Latin context.



## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON COD. COLON. 212.

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*Bibliography:* Fr. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*, pp. 574-585; Wattenbach in Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis codices manuscripti*, pp. 93-95; Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, p. xv.

*Facsimiles:* Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exempla codicum latinorum litteris maiusculis scriptorum* (Heidelberg, 1876), give three pages of this MS., plates 37 and 38 reproducing the whole papal catalogue—on which see below—and plate 44 part of the letter of pope John II to Caesarius of Arles and of the acts of the Council of Valence.

This MS. consists—apart from two guard-leaves (unpaged) at the beginning, and three at the end, of the MS.—of twenty-two gatherings or 167 leaves, and contains sixty-four documents. New commencements are made with the twelfth gathering (fol. 86*a*), with the fifteenth (fol. 108*a*), and with the nineteenth (fol. 136*a*); but the division of the contents does not suggest that these four parts were drawn from four different exemplars, and it is more likely that, as the work of copying progressed, it was shared between different scribes. The handwriting is semi-uncial throughout, and is attributed by Wattenbach and Maassen to the seventh century: in the list prefixed to *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Mon. Iur. Ant.*, I, p. xi, I followed their authority, but subsequent re-investigation of the palaeography of the MS. convinced me that its date could be fixed as not much later than the year 600 (*ib.* II, p. 34). Abbreviations by suspension are still common:  $\bar{n}$  = *noster*, I have noticed once (at the end of a line, and therefore possibly to save space), and *epi(scopus) pre(s)bi(ter)* for the nominative singular occur occasionally, *ep(i)s(copus)* and *epis(copus)* for any case quite regularly. Final *m* is still, save at the end of the line, written in full. Ligatures are still frequent (*-on*, *-ons*, as well as *-us*, *-unt*, *-nt*), the more so that they are no longer confined, as in the earliest MSS., to the end of a line. That the MS. was copied from an exemplar written in the same semi-uncial style is perhaps suggested by the misreadings *urbicini* for *urbium* (fol. 86*b*) and *sperti* for *spem* (fol. 127*b*)—an uncial  $\mathfrak{M}$  could not easily be misread into *rti*: and a semi-uncial exemplar may be assumed to have been written in the sixth century.

The contents of the MS. are in part closely related to those of two other Gallic MSS., the Corbie MS. (Paris B.N., lat. 12097), written perhaps at Corbie itself, or if not in northern Gaul, in the second half of the sixth century, and the Toulouse MS. (see above, p. 31), written at Albi between 590 and 666: and in these common portions our MS. is nearer in text to its southern than to its northern relative. Moreover, the Cologne MS. preserves at least three pieces occurring at three separate points, which are absolutely unique—the Council of Nîmes,



A.D. 396 (No. VIII in the MS., fol. 30*b*), a letter of Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon in the first half of the sixth century, to Maximus of Geneva (No. XXXVIII, fol. 113*b*), and the Council of Marseilles, of A.D. 533 (No. L, fol. 130*b*): and these seem to direct us clearly to Provence as the home either of our MS. or of its immediate ancestor, if that ancestor was not very far removed from it in date.<sup>1</sup> For southern Gaul, too, speaks the occasional use of the Visigothic abbreviation *p* for *pro*: see Traube at the end of the preceding notice. But in any case our MS. was already in Cologne early in the ninth century, for the name of Hildebald, bishop from A.D. 785 to 819, is found written on the guard-leaf. Hildebald was a great collector of MSS. and procured them from places even as distant as Rome, so that it is not impossible that our MS. was one of those which owe to him their present place on the library shelves of the metropolitan church of St. Peter of Cologne.

Something must, however, also be said about the evidence of the guard-leaves, especially as it has been mis-stated or misinterpreted in all modern descriptions of the MS. Of the two leaves that precede the main collection, the first has only the Hildebald inscription just mentioned; the second is filled with a catalogue of the contents of the MS. written in the same or a contemporary hand with the MS. itself. The leaves that follow the collection contain, however, three distinct documents: (i) on fol. 168*a*, a set of references to various canons of councils, the canon being identified in each case by the number of a quaternion—*R* *In can<sup>n</sup> apost<sup>i</sup> tit<sup>i</sup> xxvii q. i.* and so on; (ii) on foll. 168*b*, 169*a*, a catalogue of popes, carried down in the original uncial hand to Agapetus (A.D. 535–536), and continued in a semi-uncial hand (such as that of the body of the MS.) down to Gregory (590–604); (iii) on fol. 169*b*, the latter part of the preface to the second edition of Dionysius Exiguus' Collection of Canons.

Now of these three pieces the first and third admit of a quite certain explanation, and it will be well therefore to dispose of them before attacking the problem of the papal catalogue. The list on fol. 168*a* is nothing more nor less than a list of points to which some very early reader of our MS. wished to call attention; the quaternions referred to are the quaternions of our MS., and the same sign which is prefixed to each reference on fol. 168*a* will be found at the appropriate place in the body of the MS., in the margin opposite the passage to which attention is intended to be called. This annotator is almost or quite contemporary with the original scribe. Not much later—within the limits of the seventh century—falls the insertion of the Dionysian matter on fol. 169*b*, by some reader who found that the Dionysian preface with which the main collection opens on fol. 1*a* was different, or at least had a different conclusion, from that with which he was himself familiar. In fact, what the MS. gives is the preface to the *first* edition of Dionysius (printed in Maassen, p. 960); what the corrector gives is the additional matter, distinctive of the preface to the *second* edition of Dionysius (*ib.* p. 961), and he has connected his new matter with the old by adding the sign  $\Phi$ , both at the top left hand margin of fol. 169*b*, and also between the words *disciplina* and *seruata*, five lines from the bottom of fol. 1*a*. No doubt it was the same seventh century corrector, who in various passages of the Nicene canons has substituted the phraseology of the second edition

<sup>1</sup> The title and colophon of the canons of the Council of Orleans of A.D. 511 (fol. 37)—“Incipiunt canones Aurelianenses de Francia,” “Expliciunt canones Francisci”—points also to a scribe writing outside the Frankish dominions, and therefore away from Cologne.

of Dionysius for that of the Gallic version given by the original scribe (see *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Jur. Ant.*, I, p. 248).

Both these pieces then are seen to be intimately connected with the main body of the MS., and are of the nature of early *addenda* to it. The papal catalogue, which occurs on the two pages (foll. 168*b*, 169*a*) between these other pieces, was clearly in its present place as part of our MS. before the new Dionysian matter was inserted after it on fol. 169*b*, that is to say, before the end of the seventh century; can we take its history any further back? Our authorities—Maassen, Wattenbach, Duchesne—all agree in saying that the catalogue was written in the sixth century, earlier than the body of the MS., and must therefore have had a different origin and have been brought only into fortuitous juxtaposition with the collection that precedes it. But one of the new lessons which palaeography has to teach us is that it was quite common and natural for scribes to be able to write in two hands; and I believe that the scribe who wrote in uncials the catalogue that ends with Agapetus was the same as the scribe (or one of the scribes) who wrote in semi-uncials the main body of the MS. Anyone who has the opportunity of examining the documents will find that, wherever the letters admit of comparison—*e.g.*, F and Z—the closest similarity exists between the forms used in the uncial catalogue and in the semi-uncial MS. Moreover this papal catalogue on the guard-leaves at the end of the book is set within an ornamental arcade; and the index of contents on the guard-leaves at the beginning of the book—which obviously presupposes the existence of the book—is also set in an arcade, less elaborate no doubt than the other, but quite like it in general conception and arrangement. And the very difficulty which has suggested the earlier date for the handwriting of the catalogue, namely, that it stops at Agapetus in A.D. 535, carries with it, when looked at more closely, its own solution; for it appears that the scribe of this earlier part knew that some addition was necessary to his work before it could be called complete. Between the line which contains the name of Agapetus and the summary of the total duration of the pontificates from Agapetus back to Peter, *q̄i fivnt anni dviii*, a space of some eight or ten lines is left blank; and in this space a semi-uncial hand has, as a matter of fact, inserted the names of the seven successors of Agapetus down to and including St. Gregory. That the list ending with Agapetus was copied by our scribe from the same exemplar from which he derived his canonical collection, cannot be proved; but as we have seen reason to think that the exemplar was written in the sixth century, it is at least not unlikely that it may have contained a papal catalogue ending at just that point. Nor am I prepared to say that the semi-uncial hand which continued the list down to Gregory is that of the scribe, or of any of the scribes, of the main body of the MS.: but if the list was continued only to Gregory after it had passed out of the control of the original scribe or scribes, the pontificate of Gregory appears all the more probably to be the *terminus ad quem* of our MS., which may therefore be dated at about A.D. 600.





## PALÄOGRAPHISCHE BEMERKUNGEN VON LUDWIG TRAUBE.

### I. DIE ABBILDUNGEN DES SYMBOLUM APOSTOLICUM.

#### § 1.—EINLEITUNG.

Bei der Beurteilung der paläographischen Noten, die ich zu den hier gebotenen Tafeln beigesteuert habe, bitte ich folgenden Standpunkt einzunehmen. Das Material wurde von meinem Freunde, Rev. A. E. Burn, im Zusammenhang mit seiner grossen, nie unterbrochenen historisch-kritischen Arbeit über die ältesten christlichen Symbole gesammelt. Besondere paläographische Rücksichten waren dafür nicht massgebend. Ich wieder hatte nur den Auftrag und den Beruf, über die so gesammelten Facsimiles, ohne Rücksicht auf ihren liturgischen Inhalt, paläographische Adnotationen zu machen, oder, wie ich besser sagen sollte, Adnotationen zu machen, die einem Paläographen nahe liegen; denn ganz auf graphischem Gebiete können sie sich nicht bewegen. Es kommt aber hinzu, dass ich, obgleich ich mich zu dieser Arbeit schon vor einigen Jahren bereit erklärt hatte, doch nur bei der Münchener und Veroneser Handschrift die Gelegenheit fand, meine Ansichten, die ich auf Photographien, auf gedruckte und *ad hoc* gelieferte Beschreibungen und Verzeichnisse der Abkürzungen gründen musste, durch Autopsie zu überprüfen und zu verbessern. Wenigstens habe ich die andern Handschriften, die ich von den hier beschriebenen sonst noch gesehen habe, vor dem Gedanken an eine bestimmte paläographische Arbeit gesehen.

Es versteht sich von selbst, dass ich liturgische Schriften nur in besonderen Fällen citire. Im Allgemeinen setze ich ihre Kenntnis voraus.

Für die oben erwähnten Bilder und Beschreibungen bin ich ausser A. E. Burn zu Dank verpflichtet folgenden Freunden und Helfern: C. U. Clark für Hülfe in Rom und Mailand, Enander für Hülfe in Paris, P. Gabriel Meier für Hülfe in Einsiedeln, W. Riezler für Hülfe in St. Petersburg, C. H. Turner und P. August Merk, S.J., für Hülfe in Köln und Mailand.

#### § 2.—BERN, STADTBIBLIOTHEK, 645, FOL. 72.

*Litteratur*: Über den Inhalt der Hs. vgl. ausser Hagens *Katalog* noch Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, I, 564 und 674; Bratke, *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1895, S. 153 ff.; und A. E. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, London, 1899, pag. 241.

Die Schrift der Handschrift möchte ich bezeichnen als eine Zwischenstufe zwischen gallischer Halbunciale und Minuskel. Es lassen sich eine Reihe französischer Handschriften vergleichen, wie Cambrai 624 (*Album Paléographique*, pl. 13). Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 1; Chatelain, *Scriptura Uncialis*, tab. C); Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619 (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pl. 5, 2); Karlsruhe Aug. CCLIII; Petersburg F.I. 5, F.I. 6.

O.I. 4. Alle diese Handschriften sind vom 7. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert entstanden. Allein ihre Ähnlichkeit mit dem Bernensis ist nirgends durchschlagend. Die Petersburger Hss., die aus Corbie stammen, und Paris Nouv. Acq. 1619, haben mehr vom eigenen Charakter der Halbunciale (doch kennt der Bernensis auf andern Seiten auch einige halbunciale und unciale Formen, z. B. das *g*, die auf fol. 72 nicht vorkommen). Die Karlsruher Hs., die früher auf der Reichenau lag, hat mehr kursive Elemente. Am nächsten steht noch die Hs. Paris Nouv. Acq. 1597, die dem Kloster des h. Benedikt zu Fleury gehört hat. Aber auch hier sind einzelne Unterschiede, wie in der Bezeichnung des *m* (im Floriacensis ~ und ÷, im Bernensis nur —), nicht zu verkennen. Man wäre geneigt, die Berner Hs. womöglich noch vor dem 8. Jahrhundert oder doch spätestens am Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen, doch bewegt mich das freilich sparsame und auch rückständige, doch aber auch wieder in Einzelform fortgeschrittene Abkürzungssystem bis in die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts zu gehen: z. B. fol. 57<sup>v</sup> *dn̄s n̄r ihs x̄ps*, aber auf derselben Seite auch *dn̄m n̄r ihm̄ xp̄m*; vgl. dazu Traube, *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akademie*, 1900, S. 521) [und *Nomina Sacra*, p. 229]. Auch auf der hier gebotenen Seite ist *ih̄m* fälschlich für *ih̄m* gesetzt (der Schreiber wollte ausserdem wohl, was richtig ist, in umgekehrter Reihenfolge *xp̄m ih̄m* schreiben; ebenso scheint in Zeile 2 *filium* erst verbessert aus *filius*). Ganz auffällig ist auf fol. 57<sup>v</sup> *pr̄pt* für *propter*; es dürfte auf Verwechselung mit der legitimen spanischen Form *p̄ptr* beruhen, ebenso ist das unmittelbar folgende *p̄scl̄s* für *paschalis* nach spanischer Art gebildet. Doch scheint an diesen Stellen, die im *Cyclus Paschalis* des Victorius Aquitanus stehen, wahrscheinlich die südfranzösische Vorlage durch. Dies dürfte auch der Fall sein an den wenigen Stellen, wo *u* nicht am Zeilenschluss, sondern innerhalb der Zeile, durch das kursive, über der Linie stehende *v* bezeichnet wird, wie fol. 59 *q̄od aliq̄ociens*. Gut und regelmässig ist *episcopus* (*ēps*, etc.) und *Israel* (*īsr̄l*) behandelt.

§ 3.—PARIS LAT. 13246, FOL. 88. SOG. SACRAMENTARIUM GALLICANUM.

*Litteratur*: Eine vollständige Beschreibung der Hs. gab Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* III, 224. [Vgl. auch Dom Wilmart im *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, fasc. XV, col. 941 sqq. (1908).]

*Bilder*: L. Delisle, *loc. cit.*, zählt das vor ihm Vorhandene auf; er beschränkt sich auf den kleinen Schnitt, den Mabillon in *Musaeum Italicum* gab, und die späteren Wiedergaben dieser wenigen Zeilen; Delisle selbst giebt einige Zeilen wieder auf pl. XV, 6 and 7, und pl. XVII, 6. [Vier Seiten bei Dom Wilmart, *loc. cit.*]

Im Jahre 1681 hatte Mabillon sein Hauptwerk herausgegeben; erst 1685—viel zu spät und viel zu flüchtig für die Wissenschaft—unternahm er seine Reise nach Italien. Bei der Rückkehr hielt er sich drei Tage im Kloster Bobbio auf, wo sich freilich die schönsten Hss. schon lange nicht mehr befanden. Vor ihm lag, wie er später erzählte, nur *magni nominis umbra*. Doch entlich er sich unter andern und erwarb so indirekt für das Heimatland der wissenschaftlichen Paläographie *codicem Liturgiae Gallicanae optimae notae litteris maiusculis exaratum*.<sup>1</sup> es ist dies die Hs. jetzt der Nationalbibliothek zu Paris 13246.

<sup>1</sup> *Musaeum Italicum*, Paris, 1724, T. i., p. 217.



Es ist also über die Provenienz unserer Hs. irgend ein Zweifel nicht möglich. Und entspräche nur einigermaßen ihre Schrift dem wohl wechselnden und oft verschiedenartigen, doch aber Alles in Allem sehr bekannten Charakter von Bobbio, deckte sich also Provenienz und Ursprung, so wäre jedes weitere Wort überflüssig.<sup>1</sup> Allein das ist nicht der Fall: die Hs. — sowohl der eigentliche Grundstock (das Sacramentarium Gallicanum mit dem *Credo*) als die vielen gleichzeitigen oder spätern Nachträge (Delisle führt sie genau auf) — ist so unkalligraphisch geschrieben und nimmt eine so exceptionelle Stellung ein, dass man suchen und debattiren muss.

Da nun die Paläographie zunächst nur negativen Bescheid gibt, und uns von Bobbio wegweist, so müssen wir die Kultureinflüsse betrachten, die in der Hs. zu Tage treten und vielleicht zu einem andern bekannten Centrum hinführen können.

Da gibt es nun ohne Frage zunächst starke SPANISCHE SYMPTOME. So die Wortform *Romensis*, vgl. Traube,<sup>2</sup> *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, S. 129 (= *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie*, XXI, iii, 727); sie drang freilich von Spanien nach Frankreich vor, und steht ebenso z. B. in Rom Reg. lat. 317, und Gotha Membr. I, 85. Ein Stück der Nachträge, fol. 294, *de tempore nativitatis Christi*, findet sich wieder in der spanischen Hs., s. viii, jetzt Albi 29: vgl. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* III, 728. Die sogenannten *Joca monachorum*, wieder in den Nachträgen, haben auch entfernten Zusammenhang mit Spanien; vgl. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIV, 58. Dennoch aber ist Schrift (mitsamt der Kürzungen) und Orthographie in der gesamten Hs. nichts weniger als spanisch. Wir finden überall den Typus  $\overline{ni}$  mit einigen Fällen des Typus  $\overline{nri}$ , aber nirgends die spanischen Formen von *noster*; es wird *isrl* für *Israel* geschrieben, nicht *srl* oder eine der andern spanischen Formen;  $\overline{qum}$  und  $\overline{scm}$ , die vorkommen, sind zwar ursprünglich spanische Bildungen, die aber früh schon ziemlich verbreitet waren;  $\phi$  steht in der eigentlichen Hs. immer für *per* und daneben kommt hie und da  $\phi$  für *pro* vor; nur in den Nachträgen steht  $\phi$  auch für *per*; diese Art ist aber nicht nur spanisch, sondern auch früh-französisch.

Bedeutender als die spanischen scheinen die IRISCHEN Einflüsse zu sein, die auf die Hs. eingewirkt haben. Die Liturgiker sind über diesen Punkt jetzt einig.<sup>3</sup> Man kann ihren Argumenten etwa noch den Hinweis auf die Orthographie hinzufügen, die in den Nachträgen stellenweis hervortritt: *concesione*, *posedet*, *preceset* (= *praecessit*), *pasionem*, *mesam* (= *missam*). Wir sind gewöhnt, derartige Schreibungen, die freilich auch wieder an Spanien denken lassen könnten, im Allgemeinen als irisch anzusehen.

Also hier scheinen wir doch nach Bobbio zurückgewiesen zu werden. Und für ITALIEN, und damit auch wieder für BOBBIO, spricht dem Ansehen nach auch die Erwähnung der heiligen Eugenia (*Eogenia* bei Mabillon I, 2, pag. 281 und 289). Ich hatte früher in der *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (pag. 103 = 701) erklärt, dass es noch so stände wie zur Zeit Mabillons: man könne den Kult der Eugenia nicht gut lokalisieren. Inzwischen fand Ebner (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg, 1896,

<sup>1</sup> Ich halte Dom Cagins Annahme, dass der Inhalt der Hs. auf Bobbio weise, durch Duchesne, Lejay und Morin für widerlegt.

<sup>2</sup> Dafür dass *Romensis* die spanische Form für *Romanus* war, haben sich seither mir noch sehr viele Beispiele ergeben; freilich auch dafür, dass die Form von Spanien aus sich in Gallien verbreitete. Die Murbache Hs. Martène's, in der das *Breviarium ecclesiae ordinis Rominsae* steht, habe ich inzwischen in Gotha wieder aufgefunden.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bannister, *Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1903), 54.



pag. 424) zwei sicher italienische Hss. mit Anrufung der *Eugenia*: Rom, Sess. CXXXVI, s. xi (aus Como), und Florenz Laur. Aed. CXI, s. x (aus Florenz). Freilich steht diesen Hss. die *Regula Magistri* gegenüber (vgl. *Textgeschichte*, loc. cit.). Hier spielt *Sancta Eugenia* eine Rolle, und weder die Regel selbst noch die Hss. der Regel können aus Italien sein.<sup>1</sup>

Allein, wenn wir uns auch an die beiden italienischen Hss. und nicht an die *Regula Magistri* halten wollten—die Schrift ist entschieden einer Lokalisierung in Italien entgegen, sie ist absolut nicht bobiensisch. In Bobbio stiessen ja irische und italienische Kultur zusammen, und irgend etwas in der Schrift und in den Abkürzungen der *Codices Bobienses* lässt immer das Produkt dieser doppelten Strömung erkennen. Wir sehen entweder italienische Schrift mit insularen Kürzungen oder insulare Schrift mit italienischen Kürzungen, oft beides zusammen in derselben Hs. Wo aber eine solche Kreuzung nicht stattgefunden hat, pflegt das eine der beiden Elemente, das insulare oder das italienische, doch so stark und klar entwickelt zu sein, dass man über die Herkunft der Hs. nicht im Zweifel sein kann. Im Parisinus 13246 ist das nicht so. Die Schrift ist in der Hs. selbst Unciale ohne irischen Beisatz, in den Nachträgen mit Minuskel gemischte Unciale, desgleichen ohne jeden Anklang an das Insulare. Es kommt keinerlei insulare Abkürzung vor.

Suchen wir aber nach einer andern Stätte ausserhalb Bobbios, wo irischer Einfluss auf den Schreiber wirken konnte und zu der die Schrift des Codex besser passen würde, so werden unsere Gedanken von Italien nach Gallien, von Bobbio nach Luxeuil gelenkt. An Luxeuil hatte einst schon Mabillon gedacht, aber nicht gerade aus paläographischen Gründen. Auch wir wollen nur soviel sagen: Die französische Gründung Columbanus unterscheidet sich von der italienischen dadurch, dass in ihr das irische Element auf den Charakter der Schrift gar nicht eingewirkt hat; diese bleibt dort vielmehr gallisch. Schrift und Abkürzungen in Paris 13246 sind für Luxeuil möglich, gerade so gut möglich wie unmöglich für Bobbio. Freilich eine besondere Ähnlichkeit könnte ich auch nicht ins Feld führen. Die Hs. ist aber älter als die sonst bekannten Erzeugnisse aus Luxeuil. In der Sprache könnte die oben erwähnte irische Eigenthümlichkeit der Nachträge gut auf Luxeuil gedeutet werden. Andere Orthographica, wie das erwähnte *Eogenia*, und z. B. *seo*, haben eine Entsprechung in der Überlieferung vieler gallischer Hss. (vgl. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, II, 163; *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 114, adn. 3). Die oft sehr vulgäre Sprache der Nachträge schien den Romanisten wenigstens mehr nach Frankreich als nach Italien zu weisen; vgl. P. Meyer, *Romania* I (1872), 489; Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, V (1874), 103; derselbe in *Mélanges Latins et Bas-Latins*, Montpellier, 1875. Doch das sind allgemeine Erwähnungen, die nur für Frankreich und zum Theil gegen Italien sprechen. Von besonderen Gründen, die sich für Luxeuil anführen liessen, wäre ausser den irischen Eigenheiten und den nahen Beziehungen zwischen Bobbio und Luxeuil nur folgender noch geltend zu machen. Der Name *Bertulfus*, der fol. 197<sup>v</sup> auf dem Rand des Parisinus steht (eben so wie an andern Stellen: *Elderatus*, *Manubertus*, *Dacolenus*,<sup>2</sup> und *Bonolo*), wurde von Mabillon auf den Abt von Bobbio (+ 639) bezogen. Bertulfus kam aber nach Bobbio im Jahre 626 aus Luxeuil. Wir möchten also eher annehmen, wenn ein Zusammenhang existirt, dass Bertulfus das Buch nach Bobbio mitbrachte. Doch dies ist eine vage Möglichkeit. Wollen wir uns in den Grenzen des

<sup>1</sup> Dasselbe gilt vom Sakramentar von Gellone, wo gleichfalls *Eogenia* angerufen wird.

<sup>2</sup> Förstemann führt einen Dacolenus aus einer Urkunde von Moissac a. 680 an (Pardessus, *Diplomata*, II, 185).

Wahrscheinlichen halten, so ist eben zu sagen: der Parisinus ist ein wenig kalligraphisches Machwerk, dessen Lokalisierung und chronologische Fixierung schwer fällt; wahrscheinlich gehört die Hs. nach Frankreich als ein Erzeugniß des sehr barbarischen 7. Jahrhunderts. Irische Einflüsse, die der Inhalt und die Orthographie widerspiegelt, könnten auf Luxeuil weisen oder eine Stätte, die unter ähnlichen Bedingungen stand, wie diese irische Gründung in Frankreich. Wollte man mit noch grösserer Vorsicht sagen: die Hs. habe in Bobbio gelegen, sei aber nicht von einem an die Bobienser, sondern an französische Schrift Gewöhnten geschrieben, so könnten dagegen mit Recht die Nachträge geltend gemacht werden, da auch in ihnen nicht die Schrift von Bobbio angewandt ist.

§ 4.—ROM PAL. LAT. 493, FOL. 16, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17. SOG. MISSALE GALLICANUM VETUS.

*Litteratur*: Zu vergleichen über diese Hs. ist Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1896, S. 246, wo auch die ältere Litteratur zu finden ist. Hinzuzufügen ist die neue Auflage von Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898, pag. 144, und der zweite Band von F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1900, *passim*.

*Bilder*: Ich kenne nur den Stich bei Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venedig, 1748, vol. II, gegenüber von pag. 391. Bei Ebner wird zwar ein Bild auf S. 430 als "die Titelseite aus Cod. Palat. 493" bezeichnet, doch liegt ein Irrthum vor, und das Bild entspricht vielmehr Rom Reg. 317, fol. 169<sup>v</sup>.

Delisle sagt (*Mémoires de l'Institut, Ac. des Inscriptions*, vol. XXXII, pag. 73) mit vollem Recht: "Ces cent six feuillets forment treize cahiers, dont les douze premiers sont les débris d'un ou de deux sacramentaires." In der That sind, von dem ganz unzugehörigen Anhang (fol. 100 sqq.) abgesehen, drei Hände zu unterscheiden: davon ist wieder eine von den übrigen so verschieden, auch die Einrichtung dieses Theiles der Hs. so abweichend, dass man geneigt ist, nicht nur eine andere Hand, sondern auch eine andere Hs. vorauszusetzen. Hierher gehören die 3. Lage (fol. 34–43), die 4. und 5. (fol. 19–33), die 6. bis 12. (fol. 44–99): auf diesen Blättern hat die Hs. überall 20 Zeilen. Die 1. Lage mit 16 Zeilen (fol. 1–10) und die 2. mit 14 Zeilen (fol. 11–18) stehen sich dagegen sehr nahe in Schrift und Initialsornamentik. Dasselbe Schwanken in der Zeilenzahl herrscht übrigens auch in dem nahe verwandten Rom Reg. lat. 317, wo der erste Theil 14, der zweite Theil 20 Zeilen hat, so dass auf solchen Unterschied gebauter Schluss allein nicht sicher ist.

Wenn man sich ganz im Gebiete der Paläographie hält, so hat man für die Beurtheilung der Hs. folgende Elemente. Die Unciale, die gelegentlich verwandte Minuskel (fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, Zeile 3 von unten, *per dnm*; fol. 17 zweimal *cre<do>* von einer anderen Hand), die Ornamentik sind eigenartig und zeigen deutliche Anklänge an die von mir sogenannte "Schule von Luxeuil"; der Nachtrag ist an einer deutschen Stätte, wie etwa Murbach, im 9. Jahrhundert geschrieben. Die ganze Hs. gehörte später dem Kloster des h. Nazarius zu Lorsch.

Hinzunehmen kann man noch die nahe Verwandtschaft von Palat. lat. 493 mit Reg. lat. 317. Beide Hss. sind inhaltlich und paläographisch oft verglichen worden. Offenbar ist der Zusammenhang ein enger. Mir scheint der Palatinus um einiges jünger als der Reginensis.



Er steht zum Reginensis vielleicht im Verhältniss eines Neffen. Nun ist der Reginensis genauer zu localisiren als der Palatinus. Er wurde nach 680 für die Diöcese von Autun geschrieben. Man darf daher vom Palatinus vielleicht sagen: er gehört zur Schule von Luxeuil, wurde geschrieben am Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts, kam aus Burgund über eines der Klöster, die Beziehungen zu Deutschland hatten, im 9. Jahrhundert nach Lorsch.

§ 5.—PARIS LAT. 12048, FOL. 181 UND 191<sup>v</sup>. SACRAMENTARIUM UND MARTYROLOGIUM VON GELLONE.

*Litteratur*: Beschreibung bei Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, 221 ff.; derselbe, *Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXII, 80. Vgl. ferner über die Herkunft Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, 123 (= 721); Dom Cagin in *Mélanges Cabrières*, Paris, 1899, I, 231 ff.; Dom Quentin, *Revue Bénédictine*, XX (1903), 370 f.

*Bilder*: Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, pl. XIV, 8. Er führt auch, *loc. cit.*, die älteren Abbildungen im *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, bei Bastard (nach der von Delisle eingeführten Zählung pl. 49–61), in *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, und in der *Paléographie Universelle*, an.

Man ist gewöhnt, die Schrift dieses prächtigen Codex als "spanisch" (*écriture visigothique*) zu bezeichnen. Die Verfasser des *Nouveau Traité* haben es so eingeführt: Silvestre, Delisle, Chatelain (*Introduction à la Lecture des Notes Tironiennes*, Paris, 1900, pag. 120) und Andere haben die Bezeichnung angenommen, Delisle aber drückt sich an einer Stelle auch wieder viel vorsichtiger aus, und spricht von "*écriture demi-onciale qui se rattache à l'école visigothique*" (*Mémoires, loc. cit.*, pag. 81).

Nun gibt es wohl Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Orthographie, die man für Spanien geltend machen könnte: z. B. *heradicare*, *hunum*, *dihutius*, *habysi* (= *abyssi*). Aber wir treffen desgleichen doch auch in Frankreich.

In der Kürzung gibt es spanische Anklänge hie und da. So *usrm* (= *uestrum*), *ms* (= *meus*) und *mō* (= *meo*). Auch die Buchstaben sind z. Th. spanisch gefärbt, besonders das *g*. Im Allgemeinen spricht aber auch in der Paläographie sofort vieles gegen die Annahme spanischer Herkunft. Die Worte *noster* und *ueter* (bis auf die oben erwähnte Form), *Israel*, *nomen*, *autem*, *per* und *pro* haben in den Kurzformen, die unsere Hs. für sie setzt, nicht spanisches, sondern französisches Gepräge. Die ganze Hs. gehört, der Schrift nach, in die Kategorie der oben zur Erklärung des Bernensis zusammengestellten französischen Hss. der Übergangszeit.

Die Miniaturen und Ornamente (der "Buchschnuck," wie wir sagen) sind sehr eigenartig und es gibt unter den vor-Karolingischen und Karolingischen Hss. keine genaue Parallele. Janitschek (*Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, pag. 69) denkt an syrische Einflüsse. Dass der Orient irgendwie auf diese Art der Buchmalerei eingewirkt hat, darf gewiss behauptet werden auch von denen, die Strzygowskis geistreiche Hypothesen nicht alle annehmen. Indessen bleibt es merkwürdig, dass was man am ehesten von vorhandenen lateinischen Hss. zum Vergleich der Hs. von Gellone heranziehen könnte auf spanischem Boden entstanden ist. Ist die Hs. also vielleicht dennoch mit Spanien enger verbunden als



wir glauben möchten? Schon im 9. Jahrhundert, wie die späteren Einträge zeigen—Delisle zählt sie pag. 222 auf—befand sich die Hs. in Gellone, in der südfranzösischen Diöcese Lodève, d. h. in der Sphäre spanischer Einflüsse. Aber gerade diese Nachträge und Randnotizen, die sich von der Schrift des Sakramentars und Martyrologiums deutlich abheben und Karolingischen Charakter tragen, beweisen, dass der Zusammenhang der Hs. mit Gellone erst im 9. Jahrhundert hergestellt wurde.

Wir sind in der glücklichen Lage, bei dieser mehr negativen Auskunft nicht stehen bleiben zu brauchen. In der That hat schon Sollier gesehen,<sup>1</sup> dass bestimmte ursprüngliche Notizen im Text des Martyrologium besonderen Bezug auf das Kloster Rebais in der Diöcese Meaux nehmen. Dom Quentin hat diesen Stellen noch eine weitere hinzugeführt, aus der sich ergibt, dass die Hs. geschrieben wurde während Romanus Bischof von Meaux war. Dies führt mit ziemlicher Sicherheit auf das Jahr ca. 750.

Für diese Zeit und diese Gegend passt nun auch vollständig das Stadium, in dem die Kürzungen der Hs. stehen. Besonders können wir dies an *noster* und *ueter* erkennen. Der Nominativ ist  $\overline{nt}$ ,<sup>2</sup> die Deklination folgt dem Typus  $\overline{ni}$ , selten sind Formen des Typus  $\overline{nri}$ .

Zusammenfassend möchte ich sagen: die Hs. ist ca. a. 750 für und wahrscheinlich in der Diöcese Meaux geschrieben worden; der Kalligraph oder die Kalligraphen, die an ihr arbeiteten, haben vielleicht irgendwie spanische Schulung auf sich anwirken lassen.

§ 6.—EINSIEDELN 199, pp. 473 UND 474. DICTA PRIMINII.

*Litteratur:* Eine genaue Beschreibung der Hss. Einsiedeln 199 und 281 gibt P. Gabriel Meier im *Catalogus Codicum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, pag. 155 sqq. und 257 sqq.

[L. Traube, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie*, 1907, S. 71 ff.]

[*Bilder:* L. Traube, *loc. cit.*, tab. I.]

Vertrautheit mit den heimischen Schätzen und Liebe zu ihnen haben dem Einsiedler Bibliothekar P. Gabriel Meier das hübsche Forschungsergebniss geschenkt,<sup>3</sup> dass aus den beiden Einsiedler Handschriften 199 und 281 folgendes alte Homiliar hergestellt werden kann:

Quaternio I—X = 281 pag. 1—148

X—XV = 199 pag. 431—526

XVI (—XVII ?) = 281 pag. 149—178.

Doch bleibt die Frage offen, ob diese jetzt getrennten, im 9. Jahrhundert aber wahrscheinlich noch zusammengebundenen 16 oder 17 Quaternionen von vornherein schon für dasselbe Buch bestimmt waren. Möglich ist es, obgleich die Hände wechseln und der

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Traube, *loc. cit.*, pag. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Für den Nominativ werden mir noch die Formen  $\overline{nst}$  und  $\overline{ust}$  angegeben (vgl. *Perrona Scottorum*, pag. 516). Da sie auf den mir zugänglichen Abbildungen und Photographien nicht vorkommen, so möchte ich sie vorläufig als unsicher weglassen. [Vgl. *Nomina sacra*, pag. 224.]

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *Catalogus Codicum, qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur*, Einsidlae, 1899, pp. 155 sqq. und 257 sqq.

eine Schreiber jünger erscheint als der andere oder die andern. Unser Stück gehört zu dem Theile der Handschrift, der den ältesten Eindruck macht.

Wir sehen vor uns eine Schrift, die in einem grossen Bezirk heimisch war: in Chur, St. Gallen, Reichenau, in Murbach, in einzelnen bayerischen Klöstern, und zwar von der Wende des 8. zum 9. Jahrhundert bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 9. Jahrhunderts hinein.<sup>1</sup> Dazu stimmt es gut, dass cod. 199 die *Dicta Priminii* überliefert. Der Begründer des klösterlichen Lebens auf der Reichenau und in Murbach kann leicht einen Verbreiter seines Werkchens gefunden haben, der sich solcher Schriftzüge bediente, wie sie im alamannischen Lande zu Hause waren.

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, auf den eigenthümlichen Typus dieser Schrift und ihren Ursprung einzugehen. Kurz erwähnt sei nur, was sich jedem paläographisch geschulten Auge aufdrängt, dass sie das Resultat einer von verschiedenen Seiten ausgehenden Bewegung ist: die in Frankreich sich entwickelnde Minuskel ist unter dem Einfluss der gleichfalls noch in der Entwicklung begriffenen Schule von Montecassino in eine eigenartige kalligraphische Richtung gedrängt worden.

Das von Pater Meier rekonstruierte Homiliar ist älter als die Gründung der geistlichen Stätte, die seine versprengten Theile aufgehoben hat. Doch fehlt es in Einsiedeln auch sonst nicht ganz an Handschriften, die denselben Typus zeigen. So 157 *Gregorius in Ezechielem* s. VIII/IX; 199 pag. 257—430; *Canones* s. IX; 357 Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* s. VIII/IX. An sich läge es nahe, zu denken, dass diese Bücher auf geradem Wege von der Reichenau nach Einsiedeln gekommen seien. Aber ein späterer Eintrag auf pag. 452 von Codex 199 lässt an einen anderen Gang der Überlieferung denken.

Auf dieser Seite steht in Buchstaben des angehenden 12. Jahrhunderts zwischen 14 Zeilen des Textes, der eine pseudo-Augustinische Predigt enthält, eine merkwürdige Interlinearversion in einem offenbar romanischen Dialekt. Pater Meier hielt ihn für dem Spanischen verwandt; ich wurde, sobald ich auf einer Photographie die ganze Stelle kennen lernte, von der P. Meier in seinem Katalog nur ein kleines Stück veröffentlicht hatte, zur Meinung gedrängt, dass wir hier vielmehr die älteste Probe eines rhätoromanischen Sprachzweigs vor uns hätten. Gustav Gröber belehrte mich, dass der romanische Text die Färbung des Romontsch aufweise, das im oberen Rheinthale zu Hause sei.

Ich selbst hatte mich zunächst auf die Schrift des Textes gestützt und auf eine Beobachtung, die mich schon in *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte*, 1900, S. 514) dazu geführt hatte, den Codex als einen rhätischen zu bezeichnen. Aber gerade hierüber erlaubt mir jetzt Pater Meiers erneute freundliche Hülfe, weitere und bessere Auskunft zu erteilen. Die von ihm zusammengeführten Teile der Handschriften 199 und 281 zeigen auf dem Gebiet der Kürzungen fast durchweg den Typus *nī* etc. für *nostri* etc. Als Nominativ gehört dazu *nr* (= *noster*). Von Formen des Typus *nrī* kommt nur je einmal, wie es scheint, *nr̄m* und *nr̄e* vor. Seltsam ist nun, dass an folgenden Stellen *ns̄m* statt *n̄m* oder *nr̄m* steht: in Codex 199 auf pag. 432, 445, 473, 474, 481 und in Codex 281 auf pag. 13. Früher habe ich diese Überreste spanischer Bildung—denn das sind sie unzweifelhaft—der besonderen Schule zugewiesen, in der das Homiliar geschrieben wurde. Es scheint mir jetzt wegen der Seltenheit der spanischen Formen in der Einsiedler Handschrift, worüber ich damals noch

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, S. 54 (= 652) und 66 (= 664).



nicht genügend unterrichtet war, und vor allem, weil lediglich der Accusativ die spanische Bildung hat, viel wahrscheinlicher anzunehmen, dass die Vorlage dieser Handschrift von einem spanischen Kalligraphen herrührte. Man wird sich dabei zunächst an die *Dicta Priminii* halten wollen. Über die Herkunft des Priminus weiss man nichts, nur dass er nach Alamannien als *peregrinus* kam. Man deutet diese Bezeichnung auf seine Herkunft aus Irland oder England. Darf aber nicht die Vermuthung ausgesprochen werden, dass Priminus Spanier war? dass der seltsame Name eine an *Primus* und *Primigenius* angelehnte Umgestaltung von *Pimenius* (= Ποιμένιος) ist?

Die Orthographie der Handschrift, überhaupt die Sprache in den einzelnen Bestandtheilen, ist sehr ungleich; vgl. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota*, I (Christiania 1883), S. VIII ff., S. 151 ff., S. 215 ff.; Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de Sacrilegiis* (Christiania 1886), S. 52 ff. Zumeist trifft man gallische, oder allgemein romanische Eigenthümlichkeiten. Auf ausschliesslich spanischen Ursprung kann ich mit Sicherheit nichts zurückführen; *ressurgere* und *ressurrectio*, wie immer in den *Dicta Priminii* begegnet, kann ebensogut spanisch wie irisch sein; *kalandae*, wie immer geschrieben wird und was an sich in einer lateinischen Handschrift nicht als Graecismus, sondern als irische Orthographie gelten könnte, wird eher als rhätische Eigenheit zu fassen sein.

## II. DIE ABBILDUNGEN DES SYMBOLUM NICAENUM.

### § 1.—ROM VATIC. LAT. 1322. CANONES.

*Litteratur*: Bethmann, *Archiv d. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII, 224; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen . . . des canonischen Rechts*, I, 737 und 745; *Spicilegium Casinense*, tom. I, a. 1888, pag. xxx.

*Bilder*: *Leonis Magni Opera*, studio Cacciari (Romae, a. 1755), II, pag. lxxv. Im *Spicileg. Casinens.*, tab. III.

Die Hs. besteht aus zwei Theilen: fol. 1–24, saec. ix; fol. 25–285, saec. vi–vii. Sie stammt aus Verona. Dies erweisen nicht nur der Eintrag, saec. xv, *de Verona*, fol. 25, und die Veronesischen Aktenstücke, die am Schluss nachgetragen sind (vgl. Maassen 737, und Amelli im *Spicileg. Casinens.*, pag. xxxii), wozu der Zusammenhang mit der Hs. von Novara kommt (*Spicileg.*, pag. xxx), der wenigstens für oberitalienische Heimath spricht, sondern auch die Schrift. Sie ist im ersten Theil der Hs. Minuskel in dem Typus, den wir aus vielen Hss. in Verona kennen und vielleicht mit dem Veroneser Archidiaconus Pacificus (+ 844) in Verbindung bringen können. Wie Pacificus mit westfränkischen Gelehrten (z. B. Hildemarus von Corbie) in Zusammenhang steht, so kann diese Schrift, die allen italienischen Charakter abgestreift hat, wohl aus Frankreich abgeleitet werden.

Aber auch die Schrift des zweiten Theiles gehört vielleicht nach Verona. Es ist Halbunciale. Aber nicht mehr die reine von saec. v und saec. vi, sondern die der zweiten italienischen Stufe. Ein an die ältere Halbunciale gewöhntes Auge erkennt den Unterschied sofort und braucht auf die einzelnen Fehler (z. B. öfter unciales  $\delta$  statt halbuncialem d)<sup>1</sup> nicht

<sup>1</sup> Dagegen unciales  $\zeta$  statt halbuncialem  $\zeta$  auch in alter Halbunciale. Verona LIII (51) hat auch  $\zeta$ ; desgl. LIX (57).



erst aufmerksam gemacht zu werden. Am deutlichsten sprechen auch hier die Abkürzungen; peccator $\gamma$ , mortuor $\gamma$ , uer $\gamma$ , iter $\gamma$  (wo  $\gamma$  mit einer schrägen Fahne *rum* bedeutet), wie sie hier z. B. vorkommen (auch auf fol. 153<sup>v</sup> und 154), kennt die ältere Halbunciale nicht; aber ganz gleiche Schrift mit eben solchen Abkürzungen mit dem eben so gebildeten Fährchen finden sich in Verona LIII (51), Facundus, *de tribus capitulis* und *contra Mucianum*.

Verona LIII (51), Verona LIX (57), Vatic. lat. 1322, können nun auch nach ihrem Inhalt vor dem Ende des VI. Jahrhunderts nicht geschrieben sein. Die Abfassung des gegen Mucianus gerichteten Werkes des Facundus wird etwa aufs Jahr 571 angesetzt. Es muss hier davon abgesehen werden, dass bei dem Namen des Verfassers in Verona LIII (51), fol. 288, *scac mm* steht, was Reifferscheid (*Bibliotheca patrum latt. italica*, I, 55) gewiss richtig als *sanctae memoriae* deutet, weil ein solcher Zusatz gelegentlich bei Lebenden vorkommt. Immerhin ist Verona LIII (51) natürlich nicht das Original.

Die Canones in Verona LIX (57) enthalten, wie Maassen (*loc. cit.*, pag. 763) zeigt, als jüngstes Stück die Akten des Concils von Chalcedon in der Ausgabe des Rusticus. Die Hs. kann also nicht vor a. 550 entstanden sein.

Dieselbe Bemerkung gilt von Vatic. lat. 1322, da die Hs. in ihrem halbuncialen Theil die Canones des Concils von Chalcedon ja auch in der Ausgabe des Rusticus enthält.

Verona LIX (57) und Vatic. lat. 1322 sind wohl die ältesten Hss. der Bearbeitung des Rusticus, aber keineswegs ist eine oder die andere der Stammvater unserer Überlieferung, vielmehr sind beide nun Ableger, da sie die sonst erhaltenen Anmerkungen des Rusticus weglassen.

Eigenthümlich berührt den Paläographen in Mitten der Halbunciale von Vatic. lat. 1322 der Gebrauch der Capitalis, und zwar einer schlechten, ungeschickten, die auch für ein jüngeres Alter der Hs. spricht. Der Schreiber verwendet sie nicht nur für Überschriften, sondern auch für Anfänge und Hervorhebungen.

## § 2.—TOULOUSE 364 (I, 63), FOL. 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 104, 104<sup>v</sup>.

*Litteratur*: Zu vergleichen ist *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (alte Serie), VII, 203 sqq.; Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, I, 592 (wegen der Hs. von Albi); vor Allem C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), 266–273.

*Bild*: Ein ganz ungenügendes Facsimile bei F. Schulte, *Iter Gallicum, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Classe, LIX (1868), 422, Facsimile V.

Dass wir uns bei dieser Hs. nicht mit der allgemeinen Angabe: Unciale der Verfallszeit, zu begnügen brauchen, wird einzig einem glänzenden Funde C. H. Turners verdankt.

Turner erkannte, dass Toulouse 364 (= T) und Paris lat. 8901 (= P) ursprüngliche Bestandtheile einer und derselben grossen kanonistischen Hs. sind. Er erkannte aber ferner, dass wir in einer viel jüngeren Hs., Albi 2 (= A), eine Abschrift der ursprünglichen Hs. besitzen, die genommen wurde als diese noch nicht auseinandergerissen war. Aus A ersehen wir auch, welche Bestandtheile der ursprünglichen Hs. nicht mehr im Original vorhanden sind; denn es ist  $A = T + P + x$ . Dieses  $x$  nun, das in A, wenn auch erst in einer Abschrift des

9. Jahrhunderts, vorhanden ist, verhilft unter anderm zu einer so genauen Datirung und Lokalisierung von T und P, dass wir bei kaum einer Hs. derselben Epoche besser gestellt sind.

Es heisst nämlich auf fol. 177<sup>v</sup> von Albi 2: "Ego Perpetuus quamuis indignus presbyter/iussus a domino meo Didone urbis Albi/gensium episcopum (*epm cod.*) hunc librum canonum/scripsi. Post incendium civitatis ip/sius hic liber recuperatus (*re in loco raso, peratus superscr. cod.*) fuit deo auxiliante (*auxiliant cod.*)/ sub die VIII (VIII *superscr. cod.*) Kl. Ag. ann. IIII regnante (*regnant cod.*) domini nostri Childerici reg."

Diese Subscription kann sich, wie man schon früher gesehen hatte, auf die junge Hs. A nicht beziehen; sie muss sich, wie erst Turner festgestellt hat, auf das Original von A beziehen, also auf T und P. Die Toulouse Hs. ist also geschrieben von einem Presbyter Perpetuus auf Befehl des Bischofs Dido von Albi, von dem wir sonst leider nichts näheres wissen. Bis *scripsi* hatte Perpetuus selbst diese Angabe gemacht. Die Worte, die nun folgen, waren im Original von A von einer späteren, wahrscheinlich in Kursive schreibenden Hand hinzugefügt worden. Sie besagen, dass man die Hs. (den *Liber Canonum*, wie Perpetuus gesagt hatte) nach einem Brande der Stadt Albi, von dem wir wieder nur aus dieser Subscriptio erfahren, am 25. Juli 666 oder 667<sup>1</sup> wiedererlangt hat. Also T ist älter als 666 oder 667.

Wir haben nun aber noch eine Grenze der andern Seite. In A findet sich auch eine Papstliste,<sup>2</sup> die in T und P fehlt. Auch sie muss im Original des *Liber Canonum* gestanden haben. Während sonst die Jahre, Monate und Tage der einzelnen Regierungszeiten in dieser Liste verzeichnet werden, hat Gregorius (der Grosse), mit dem die Liste schliesst, statt der richtigen Angabe:

*Gregorius sed. an. XIII mens II. d. X*

die falsche und unvollständige

*Gregorius sed. an. LXV.*

Hieraus darf man folgern—und ist von Duchesne und Turner richtig gefolgert worden—dass der *Liber Canonum* geschrieben wurde, nachdem Papst Gregor zur Herrschaft gekommen war. Mit Turner also können wir jetzt sagen: die Hs. Toulouse 364 wurde zu Albi, in der Nähe von Toulouse, geschrieben, zwischen den Jahren ca. 600 und 666.

Zu dieser Fixirung passt aufs beste die Art der Unciale und einige in Kursive geschriebene Worte (P, fol. 28 und 35) und die Art der Kürzung. Turner hat schon darauf hingewiesen, dass der Gebrauch des Compendiums für *per* in einer Form, die sonst für *pro* verwendet wird, die spanische Nachbarschaft verräth. Bildungen des Genetivus Pluralis wie: *eporm*, *diacorm*, *prbtrorm*, *scrm* werden auch daher gerechnet werden können. Wenn fol. 104 *OMOYSION* durch einen Strich ausgezeichnet wird, so sei erinnert, dass es allgemeine Regel war, griechische und überhaupt fremdsprechliche Wörter (z. B. auch hebräische) in dieser Weise von ihrer lateinischen Umgebung abzuheben.

<sup>1</sup> Über diese Zahlen, die sich auf die Datirungen von Krusch und Havet stützen, vgl. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, II, 43, and Turner, *loc. cit.*, pag. 272. Mir scheint wahrscheinlich, dass das genaue Datum zugleich den Tag des Brandes und der Errettung der Bibliothek aus diesem Brande ergibt.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 27; Mommsen, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, xxxix.





FACSIMILES AND TRANSCRIPTS.



## NOTE.

The transcripts which accompany the plates have been prepared and revised by Mr. J. P. Gilson of the British Museum. They are intended to furnish such assistance in the examination of the plates as may be of service to a reader not accustomed to the difficulties which some of the early MSS. present.

Capital letters have been used for the initials of proper names.

The punctuation has been treated with some freedom, but every stop in the transcript represents some mark of punctuation in the MS.

Square brackets [ ] have been used for words or letters which are not now to be seen in the MS., and in a few cases for accidental omissions by the scribe.

Angular brackets < > are employed to mark an addition or change apparently later than the original writing of the first hand.

A few special points are dealt with in footnotes.



PLATE I.

est deus quoniam ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos, credimus quia in hac clarissima tuba omnes improbitas conquiescat.                      deus uos incolumes custodiat fratres karissimi.

xxxviii. dat. x kalendas Septembres.

Filio Paulino a . . . . .

EXEMPLVM EPISTOLAE DOMINI CYPRIANI EPISCOPI

TELONENSIS AD SANCTUM MAXIMUM EPISCOPUM IENAUENSIM.

**D**OMNO SEMPER SUO MAXIMO EPISCOPO CYPRIANVS EPISCOPVS  
Peruenit ad paruitatem meam quod beatitudo uestra inpiritiam nostram iudicet esse culpandam eo quod deum hominem passum dixerim. sed si uel apostholi sententias adtendites, uel patrum testimonia consideratis, uel etiam symbuli textum diligenter scrutari iubetes, puto quod et ipsi hoc iuxta fidem rectam quod fatemur debeatis recipere et praedicare, quia sicut credimus ex uirgine deum natum et ipsum hominem deum factum, ita et credimus crucifixum, dicente apostholo, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia deus benedictus in saecula, et post aliquanta istum quem deum esse benedictum in saecula dixit, audi quid de eo credendum doceat, si enim confite<a>ris inquit in ore tuo dominum Iesum et credediris in corde tuo quia deus illum suscitauit a mortuis saluus eris utique quem dominum ore confiteris corde suscitatum a mortuis credere omnino iuberis. et alibi, Iudaei signa petunt Graeci sapientiam quaerunt, nos uero praedicamus Christum Iesum et hunc crucifixum, ipsis uero uocatis Iudaeis

et dicit quoniam ipse perit nos et non ipse nos credi  
maius quam in hac clariissima uerba annos in piolitas  
conqueretur.

regiam. dicit. v. k. d. t. e. m. m. t. s.

d. q. o. m. e. d. c. a. r. o. d. i. a. t. i. p. k. m.

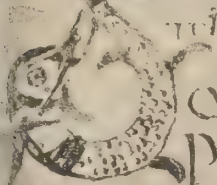
g. i. l. p. a. u. l. i. n. o. v. a.

## EXEMPLE EPIST. DOM. & PRIANI. EPI

re. m. e. n. s.

ad. s. m. i. a. x. i. m. p. r. o.

re. m. e. n. t. i. m.



Quoniam semper suo. d. m. v. i. m. e. e. p. i. o. c. y. p. r. i. a. n. i. s. e. n. s.  
Peruenit ad paruitatem meam quod de eximio do  
uerit in spiritum nostrum iudicet esse culpam dū  
eo quod dū in hominem passum dixerim se in corpore  
dū in hominem transiit et dū in corpore dū in hominem  
considerat et dū in hominem transiit et dū in corpore  
seruat et iubet et pater et iohannes hoc in rapidem  
rectam quod putemur debeat et sic accipere et pra  
care. qui sic ut credimus ex uirgine dū in natum  
et ipsam hominem in pacem. ita et credi  
m. i. a. c. i. p. i. x. u. m. d. i. c. e. n. t. e. a. p. o. l. i. b. o. l. o. e. x. q. u. i. b. u. s.  
x. p. i. e. c. u. i. d. u. m. c. a. r. n. e. m. q. u. i. e. r. i. t. s. u. p. e. r. o. m. n. i. a. l. i. b. e. n. e.  
d. i. c. t. u. s. i. n. t. e. c. u. l. a. e. i. p. o. t. a. l. i. q. u. a. m. a. i. s. t. u. m. q. u. e. m. d. m.  
e. s. s. e. b. e. n. e. d. i. c. t. u. m. i. n. t. e. c. u. l. a. d. i. x. i. t. A. u. d. i. q. u. i. d. d. e.  
e. x. c. r. e. d. e. n. d. u. m. d. o. c. e. a. t. s. i. c. n. i. m. c. o. n. f. i. t. e. r. i. i. n. q. u. i. d.  
i. n. o. c. e. t. u. o. d. n. i. m. i. n. o. e. t. c. r. e. d. e. d. i. r. i. s. i. n. c. o. r. d. e. t. u. o.  
q. u. i. a. d. n. i. l. l. u. m. s. u. s. c. i. t. a. u. i. t. a. m. o. r. t. u. i. s. s. u. l. a. u. s. e. r. i.  
u. n. q. u. e. q. u. e. m. i. n. m. o. r. e. c. o. n. f. i. t. e. r. i. s. c. a. r. d. e. n.  
s. u. s. c. i. t. a. u. i. t. a. m. o. r. t. u. i. s. e. r. e. d. e. r. e. o. m. n. i. n. o. i. u. b. e. r. i. s.  
c. i. a. l. i. b. i. i. u. d. a. e. i. s. i. g. n. a. p. e. t. a. i. l. g. r. a. c. i. s. u. p. i. c. i. n. i. a.  
q. u. a. e. r. u. n. t. n. o. s. u. e. r. o. p. r. a. e. d. i. c. t. u. m. u. s. x. p. i. i. h. m.  
e. i. h. u. n. c. c. r. u. c. i. f. i. x. u. m. i. p. s. i. s. u. e. r. o. u. o. c. a. t. i. s. i. u. d. a. e. i. s.







adque ueracis xpm dñi uirtutem et dñi sapientiam.  
 Ad ueritatem quia quem crucifixum dixit ipse dñi sapien-  
 tiam confitetur. adhuc aperit uis audiapostholi  
 protestantem. si enim inquit cognouit dñm. nū-  
 quam dñm gloriace crucifixum. Et in uaculis  
 beatus petrus ad iudeis. petis inquit ut uinhu-  
 micidam donari uobis auctorem uero uitae in-  
 ter petri est sed in uobis beatus paulus. ad tendite  
 inquit uobis et uniuerso graecis in quo uos p̄sc̄i  
 possunt episcopi regere ecclesiam dñi quam adque  
 fuit sanguis suo. Lecimus auctorem uacine in ter-  
 rectum. Lecimus ecclesiam dñi sanguinem ad qui-  
 sitam. Lecimus dñi sapientiam et dñm gloriace  
 crucifixum. Et nequam uimus hominem impati-  
 cum alibi dicat apostholus dñi et ad in xpm mandū  
 reconciliationis sibi. illud etiam euidens est mo-  
 nium est quod thomas apostholus post resurrectione  
 et. **¶** omni dñi ad confirmanda corda nostra  
 deinde dñi opus in pectus eicat et cibis adq-  
 palpatibus professus dñi inquit meus et dñi meus  
 ut inquit postquam clauorum signa per p̄p̄t et  
 cicatricum in p̄p̄t qua contraxit. Behaueo  
 cem credulitate remissa. et in apostholi hec dñe  
 rumi quia me uenerator et ueritatem p̄p̄t ac  
 hendi te sciam apostholi ueritatem. Certe sym-  
 bolum quo h̄c et in ueritate. dimisi hoc conu-  
 nit. Credo in dñm patrem omnipotentem. credo  
 in uisum xpm filium uerum unigenitum dñi in homi-  
 nem. ecce xpm uerum personam patris et filii secun-  
 dum deitatem. Quid uero pro redemptione no-  
 stra

PLATE II.

ep[isto]le.

adque Graecis Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam. aduerte quia quem crucifixum dixit ipsum dei sapientiam confitetur. adhuc apertius audi apostholum protestantem. si enim inquit cognouissent, numquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent. et in Actibus beatus Petrus Iudaeis, petistes inquit uirum; humicidam donari uobis, auctorem uero uitae interfecistes. sed inibi beatus Paulus, adtendite inquit uobis et uniuerso graeci<sup>1</sup> in quo nos spiritus sanctus posuit episcopus regere ecclesiam dei, quam adque-siuit sanguine suo. legimus auctorem uitae interfectum, legimus ecclesiam dei sanguinem adquisitam, legimus dei sapientiam et dominum gloriae crucifixum, et negauimus hominem deum passum, cum alibi dicat apostholus, deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi. illud etiam euidens testimonium est quod Thomas apostholus post resurrectionem domini ad confirmanda corda nostra de eodem domino passo inspectis cicatricibus adque palpatis sit professus, deus inquit meus et dominus meus. utique postquam clauorum signa perspexit, et cicatricum uistigia contrectauit, sic hanc uocem credulitatis emisit. et si apostholi hoc dixerunt quare me ueneratorem uestrum reprae-hendites cum apostholis uera sentire. certe symbolum quod et tenemus et credimus hoc continet, Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius, unigenitum dominum nostrum. ecce explicitae sunt persone patris et filii secundum deitatem. quid uero pro redemptione nostra

<sup>1</sup> leg. *gregi*.







PLATE III.

Sancti Cypriani episcopi.

filius unigenitus deus egerit, audi quod sequitur.  
Qui conceptus de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine utique  
subaudis unigenitus deus, quia non aliam nomenasti  
personam, passus inquit sup Pontio Pilato, qui utique  
filius unigenitus deus, crucifixus et sepultus, qui ni-  
hilominus unigenitus deus, tertia die resurrexit  
a mortuis, ascendit in caelos sedet ad dexteram  
patris, inde uenturus iudicaturus uiuis ac mortu-  
os, qui utique quem superius es confessus, filius unige-  
nitus est. et quia haec omnia secundum hominem  
quem inamissibiliter et aeternaliter sumpsit ex  
uirgine, passus creditur deus, quia ipse homo factus  
est deus, euangelista dicente, et uerbum caro factum  
est et habitauit in nobis, miror quare fidem meam  
in hac parte, si tamen uirum est repraehendere  
uoluistes, quia sicut nec in natura sua pati potuit  
deitas, ita nec in uniuersum mundum a captiuita-  
te diaboli sola liberare potuissit humanitas.  
sed per unitatem personae, ita filius hominis dice-  
batur in caelo esse cum esset in terris. sicut dominus  
gloriae in terris crocem creditur pertulisse cum  
sene dubio non diuinitatis substantiam, sed huma-  
nitas in deum adsumptam pertulerit. sicut ait quidam  
doctissimos miro quodam inquit et incogitabilis  
modo passus est deus, et non est passa diuinitas, et alius  
de domino ita dixit, quem in croces mortem dominum ma-  
iestatis agnoscimus, et in gloria diuinitatis deum  
hominem confitemur, legite etiam inmo relegi-  
te quia non dubito uos legisse beati confessores He-  
lari libros, et ibi euidenter agnoscites eum contra here-  
ticos



[illegible]









Credo in deo patrem omnipotentem. Et in Iesum  
Christum, filium eius,  
Unicum dominum nostrum,  
Natum de spirito sancto et Maria uirgine,  
Passus sup Pontio Pilato,  
Crucefixum, et sepultum descendit ad inferos,  
Tercia die resurrexit ad mortuis,  
A]scendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris,  
I]nde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos.  
Credo in spiritu sancto,  
Sancta ecclesia chatolica remissionem peccatorum,  
Carnis resurrectionis, in uitam aeternam. amen.

## I]NCIPIT TRACTATVS ORDINIS

Cum omnis apostuli de hunc mundum transissent  
p]er universum orbem diuersa erant ieiunia nam  
]omnis Gallii unum diem anniuersarium viii kal. apr.  
p]ascha tenebunt, dicentis, quid nobis est necesse ad  
lu]nae conpotum cum Iudaeis facere pascha, ut se-  
cu]ndum domini natalem quocumque die uenerit viii. kal.

(audite symbolum¶ )  
quod uobis hodie materno  
ore sancta catholica tradedit  
aeclesia **Credo in deum** pa-  
trem omnipotentem creatorem celi  
et terrae ¶ Credo in Iesu Christo  
filium eius unigenitum sempi-  
ternum Conceptum de spiritu  
sancto natum ex Maria uirgine  
Passus sub Poncio Pilato  
crucifixum mortuum et sepul-  
tum Discendit ad infer-  
na tertia die resurrexit  
a mortuis Ascendit ad  
celos sedit ad dexteram dei  
patris omnipotentis Inde uen-  
turus iudicare uiuos et  
mortuos Credo in sancto  
spiritu sancta aeclesia catolica  
Sanctorum comunione remis-  
sione peccatorum carnis  
resurreccioniem uitam  
aeternam amen.







et salutem nostram con-  
 lationem fidei et gratia  
 professione mistirii  
 memoriam instrueris  
 commendandum sed iam  
 ad istius sacramenti  
 plenitudinem textumque  
 ueniamus quod in hoc  
 modo. incipit.

Credo in deum patrem  
 omnipotentem creatori celi et  
 terre. Et in Iesum Christum fi-  
 lium eius, unicum dominum  
 nostrum. Qui conceptus

ET SALUTEM NOSTRAM CON  
 LATIONE FIDEI ET GRATIA  
 PROFESSIONE MISTRI  
 MEMORIA INSTRUERIS  
 CONMEMORANDUM SECUNDUM  
 ADSTISSACRAMENTI  
 PLENITUDINE TEXTU Q  
 UENIAMUS QUOD IN HOC  
 MODO INCIPIT

**C**REDO IN DEUM PATRE  
 OMNIPOTENTEM CREATOREM CÆLI ET  
 TERRE ET IN IESUM CHRISTUM FI  
 LIUM DEI. UNICUM DOMINUM  
 NOSTRUM QUI CONCEPTUS







EST DESPUSCO NATUS EX  
 MARIA VIRGINE PASSUS  
 SUB PONTIO PILATO CRU  
 CIFIXUS MORTUUS ET SE  
 PULTUS TERCIA DIE RESUR  
 REXIT A MORTUIS ASCEN  
 DIT VICTOR AD CELOS SED  
 AD DEXTERA M D I PATRIS  
 OMNI POTENTIS INDU  
 CIENTURUS IUDICARE VIVO  
 ET MORTUOS CREDO IN  
 SCO SPIRITUS ECCLESIA CATHO  
 LICA SCORUM COMMUNI  
 ONE AB REMISSIONE PEC  
 CATORUM



est de spiritu sancto Natus ex  
Maria uirgine Passus  
sub Pontio Pilato Cru-  
cifixus mortuus et se-  
pultus Tercia die resur-  
rexit a mortuis Ascen-  
dit uictor ad celos Sedit  
ad dexteram dei patris  
omnipotentis Inde  
uenturus iudicare uiuos  
et mortuos Credo in  
sancto spiritu sancta eclisia catho-  
lica sanctorum communi-  
onem abremissione pec-  
catorum







Carnis resurrectionem  
uitam aeternam.

Simbolum istud dilec-  
tissimi non atramento  
depingetur sed huma-  
nis cordibus insertum  
memoria retenetur. <Cre[do]>

Iterato uobis repeti-  
mus quo facilius eum  
tenire possitis <Cre[do]> Cre-  
do in deum patrem et quia  
lex nostre fidei in tri-  
nitate consistit. Ter-  
cio repetimus ut ipse

CARNIS RESURRECCIONE  
CITAM AETERNAM

**S**IMBULUM ISTUD OILEC  
TISSIMI NON ATRAHENTO  
DE PINGETUR SED HUMIDA  
NIS COROIBUS INSERTUM  
MEMORIARE TENETUR. *ex*

**R**ERATO VOBIS REPETI  
MUS QUO FACILIS EUM  
TENIRE POSSITIS. *ex* **R**ERE  
DO IN DOMINUM PATREM ET QUIA  
LEX NOSTRE FIDEI IN TRI  
NITATE CONSISTIT. **T**ER  
CIO REPETIMUS UT IPSE







uenerabiliparche lauare baptisimatir renouenter sic sci  
omr menamini fidelir muner infantie xpo dno nro pperere  
quiuuit et regnat in scia sctoru et dic pparat symbol.

edic  
pacione  
symbol.

**D**ilectissimino accepturi sacramenta baptismatis et in noua  
creatura scisps pcedendi fidem qua credentes iustificandiesur  
totocorde concepit & animis uir uerum conuersationem mu  
tatir addm qui timentiu uestitrix e inluminat Accedite susci  
pienter euangelici symboli sacramtu adno in pinctu ab apostol  
institutum cuius pauca qui dem uerba sunt sed magna mysteria  
• scs etenim sps qui magister ecclesie ista dictauit tali eloquio  
talibz uitate salutifera condit fidem utq credendum nob  
est temp q: pspiciendu nec intelligentia possit latere nec  
memoria fatigare, Intentis itaq: animis symbulum discite,  
& qd uobis sic accipim; credim; Non alieu mater le q: corrumpi  
potest sed pginis cordir uir scribite confertio itaq: pda  
quam suscipitir hoc incat exordium **ET TENENS ACOLIT**  
unū ex ipis infantib; mascolo in sinistro brachio et interrogat  
ei pbrt qualingua confertor dnm nrm ihm xpm, Rpd acolitus  
latina iterū dic pbrt adnuncia fidei ipsoru qualic credunt  
Et tenens acolitus manum sup caput pueri dic symbulu hoc de  
cantando, **C**redo in dnm ptre optm creatore celi  
et t're. et in ihm xpm filium ei; unicū dnm nrm, Qui con  
ceptus est de spu sco natus ex maria uirgine, Passus sub  
poncio pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, Descendit  
ad inferna t'ia die resurrex a mortuis ascendit ad ce  
lus sedit ad dexterā dī patris optis, Inde uenturus iu  
dicare uiuos et mortuos, Credo in spm scm scā ecclesiā  
catholicā scōrū communionē remissionē peccatorū carnis  
resurrectionē uitā etnā am;  
acolitus tenens similē fcm. Et interrogat ei pbrt qualingua

et tenens  
acolutus

tenens  
alē

PLATE VIII.

uenerabilis pasche lauare baptismatis renascentes sicut sancti  
omnes meriamini fidelis munus infantiae a Christo domino nostro perficere  
qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum ET DICT PRAEFATIONEM SIMBOLI.

et dicit  
praefatione  
symboli

**D**ilectissimi nobis accepturi sacramenta baptismatis et in nouam  
creaturam sancti spiritus procreandi fidem quam credentes iustificandi estis  
toto corde concepite et animis uestris ueram conuersionem mu-  
tatis ad deum qui timentium uestrarum est inluminator accedite susci-  
pientes euangelici symbuli sacramentum a domino inspiratum ab apostolis  
institutum cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt sed magna misteria.  
sanctus etenim spiritus qui magistris ecclesiae ista dictauit tali eloquio  
tali briuitate salutiferam condit fidem ut quod credendum nobis  
est semperque proficiendum nec intelligentiam possit latere nec  
memoriam fatigare, Intentis itaque animis symbulum discites,  
et quod uobis sicut accipimus tradimus non alicui materiae que corrup-  
pi potest sed paginis cordis uestris scribite. confessio itaque fidei  
quam suscipitis hoc incoatur exordium ET TENENS ACOLITVS  
unum ex ipsis infantibus mascolo in sinistro brachyo et interrogat  
ei presbyter qua lingua confitetur dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, Respondit acolitus  
Latina. iterum dicit presbyter adnuncia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.  
et tenens acolitus manum super caput pueri dicit symbulum hoc de-  
cantando, **C**redo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatore celi  
et terre, et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, Qui con-  
ceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex Maria uirgine, Passus sub  
Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus, Discendit  
ad inferna tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad ce-  
lus sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, Inde uenturus iu-  
dicare uiuos et mortuos, Credo in spiritum sanctum sanctam ecclesiam  
catholicam sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum carnis  
resurrectionem. uitam eternam. amen. [ITERVM ALTER]  
acolitus tenens similiter feminam et interrogat ei presbyter qua lingua

et tenens  
acolitus

iterum  
alter







# PLATE IX.

seruitio tuo impleatur auxilium per

SEQVITVR BENEDICTIO

**D**omine sanctę pater omnipotens aeterne deus spiritalium sanctificator, te suppliciter deprecamur ut ad hoc misterium humilitatis nostrę respicere digneris super has abluendis et uiuificandis hominibus praeparatas angelorum sancti< >tatis emittas quo peccatis uite prioris abluti reatuque deterso purum sancto spiritu habitaculum regeneratis pro currit per dominum.

**E**xorcizo te creatura aque in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et in caritatem Iesu Christi fili eius et spiritus sancti, **E**xorcizo te ut omnis uirtus aduersarii omnis incursio Satanę et omnis fantasma heradicare et effugare ab hac creatura aque, ut fiat fons salientis in uitam eternam et qui ex ea baptizatus fuerit fiat templum dei uiui et spiritus sanctus habitit in eo, in remissionem omnium peccatorum per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem et insufflat in iiii<sup>or</sup> uitibus inde mittit crisma in modum crucis in ipsa aqua. et cum-miscitat eam cum ipsa aqua, et interrogat presbyter dicit illi

**C**redis in deum patrem omnipotentem. respondet, credo. iterum dicit, credis et in Iesum Christum filium eius, unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus descendit ad inferna tertia die, resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad celus sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis inde uenturu[s] iudicare uiuos et mortuos. respondet, credo. et iterum dicit, credis in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrectionem uitam eternam. respondet, credo, et excepit eum in manus suas et baptizat eum sub trinam mersionem, tantum sanctam trinitatem simul inuocans ita dicendo.



SERUITIO TUO IMPLEAT AUXILIUM. Sequitur. b. n. c.

**O**mnis scilicet pater omnipotens et ineffabilis spiritus taliter seipsum te suppliciter  
deprecamur ut ad hoc misterium humilitatis nostre respicere  
digneris super has abluendis & multiplicandis hominibus prope  
notar angelorum scilicet taliter emittat quo peccatur vite  
per nos abluti rectique de deo purum sanctum spiritum habitaculum  
regeneratis procurrat per dominum.

**E**xorcizote creaturaque in hominem de patris omnipotens & in  
caritatem ihesu christi filii eius et spiritus sancti. Exorcizote  
ut omnis uirtus aduersarii omnis incurio satanae  
& omnis fantasma heradicare & effugare ab hac cre  
atura aque ut fiat fons salientis in uita eternam  
& qui per baptismum fuerit fiat templum dei uiui & spiritus sancti  
habitit in eo. In remissione omnium peccatorum per dominum  
nomen ihesu christum qui uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos  
& eternam penam et in supplet in illis uirtutibus. Inde mit  
tit crisma in modum crucis in ipsa aqua. Et cum  
misciat ea cum ipsa aqua et in te rogat per te. Illi.

**C**redo in deum patrem omnipotentem per deum. credo in unum deum.  
Credo et in ihesum christum filium eius unicum deum non qui con  
ceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex maria uirgine. passus sub  
pontio pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus dis  
cendit ad inferna et tunc resurrex a mortuis ascen  
dit ad celus sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotens. inde uenit  
iudicare uiuos et mortuos per deum. credo. et iterum deus.  
Credo in spiritum sanctum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. sanctorum commu  
nionem remissionem peccatorum carnis resurrectionem  
uitam eternam. per deum. credo. et excepit eum in manus suas  
et baptizatum sub trina immersione. tantum sanctum in unum  
simel inuocans rex dicendo.







dñm pccatē omnipotentē creatorē celi & tē  
 & respondēt cūdo Et cetera X ceteris & in ihu xpm  
 filiū eius unūcū in nrm qui concēptus ē desp  
 sō natus gē m iac uirginē pccatū sub ponē  
 pilato cruci us mortuos & sepulcos dis  
 cendit ad inf nōc tē r mē die surrexit  
 a mortuis & hūc ad celos sedit ad dex  
 tē dī pccatū omnipotentis inde uenit  
 r iudicātē uos & mortuos Et respon  
 dit cūdo Et cetera in aeternū dōc uir sacē  
 dos ceteris & in spū sō sōc ecclesie catholica  
 sōc communione pccatū peccatū x  
 mī sē sū r pccatū uiracē gē nāc Respon  
 dit cūc cūc pccatū pccatū pccatū Credo  
 Ecce pccatū quāc & pccatū uel cōfessio  
 uō apud dñm cōtētur & cōdēt hōm  
 cūc es in nōc

ad Einsidl.

199

f. 474

PLATE X.

Credis in |  
deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre  
et respondisti credo Et iterum credis et in Iesu Christum  
filium eius unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu  
sancto natus ex Maria uirgine passus sub Pontio  
Pilato crucifixus mortuos et sepultos dis-  
cendit ad inferna tertia die surrexit  
a mortuis ascendit ad celos sedit ad dex-  
teram dei patris omnipotentis inde uentu-  
rus iudicare uiuos et mortuos et respon-  
disti credo. Et tertio interrogauit sacer-  
dos credis et in spiritu sancto sancta ecclesia catholica  
sanctorum communione remissione peccatorum car-  
nis resurrectionem uitam eternam. Respondis-  
ti aut tu aut patrinus pro te credo.  
Ecce pactio qualis et promissio uel confessio  
uestra apud deum tenetur et credens b[aptiza]  
tus es in no[m]ine etc.]







PLATE XI.



Simbolum  
Nicenum ccc  
xviii patrum

CREDIMVS IN VNVM DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTEN-  
TEM FACTOREM CAELI ET TERRAE VISIBILIVM  
OMNIVM ET [IN]VISIBILIVM ET IN VNVM DOMINVM IESVM  
CHRISTVM FILIVM DEI VNIGENITVM QVI NATVS EST DE EX  
PATRE ANTE OMNIA SAECVLA DEVM VERVM DE DEO VERO  
natum non factum consubstantialem  
patri per quem omnia facta sunt Qui <propter>  
nos homines et propter salutem nostra<m>  
discindit et incarnatus est atque huma-  
natus est et passus est et resurrexit ter-  
tia die et ascendit in caelos uenturus  
iudicare uiuos et mortuos et <in> spiritum sanctum

Eos autem qui dicunt erat aliquando  
quando non erat et prius quam nas-  
ceretur non erat quia ex non extan-  
tibus factus est aut ex [a]lia subsistentia uel  
substantia dicentes esse aut conuerti-  
bilem aut mutabilem filium dei hos ana-  
themizat catholica et apostolica <dei> ecclesia

Simbolum  
Constantinop-  
olitanum  
cl. patrum.

ITERVM SYMBOLVM CENTVM QVINQVAGINTA.  
CREDIMVS IN VNVM DEVM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM  
Factorem caeli et terrae uisibilium om-  
nium et inuisibilium et in unum dominum  
Iesum Christum filium dei unigenitum natum  
ex patre ante omnia saecula deum uerum  
de deo uero natum non factum consubs-  
tantialem patri per quem omnia fac-  
ta sunt



Sibeli Nominis  
Xoy p...m

CREDI MUS IN YHVM DNM PATREM OMNIUM  
IEM FACTOREM CAELI ET TERRAE VISIBILIUM  
OMNIUM ET INVISIBILIUM MELIUS IN OMNI  
XPI FILIUM DNI NOSTRI ILM QYI NOSTRI  
PURE ANTE OMNIA SAECULA DNM QYI DE DOCTRO  
NATUM NON FACTUM COM SUBSTANCIALEM  
PATRI PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT QUI  
NOSTRI HOMINIS ET PROPTER SALUTEM NOSTRAM  
DISTINDIT IN CARNEM ET STACI PHUMA  
NATUM ET PASCIT ET RESURREXIT TEN  
CIADIE ET DISTINDIT IN CAELO TEN CUM  
JUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS ET SPIRITUM  
COELUM QUIDI CUNTE RATUM QUANDO  
QUANDO NON ERAT ET PRIUS QUAM NAS  
CERE ET NON ERAT QUIA EX NON EX CAU  
TIBUS FACCI ERAT EX HA SUBNTE N TIA UEL  
SUBTANTIA DICENTE ET EA CONUENI  
BILEM AUT MUTABILEM FILIUM DNI HOS  
THEM AC ZACCHOLIC ET APOSCHOLICAE

Sibeli Nominis  
cl p...

II ERUM SYMBOLICI NOSTRI QYI NOSTRI  
CREDI MUS IN YHVM DNM PATREM OMNIUM  
FACTOREM CAELI ET TERRAE VISIBILIUM  
OMNIUM ET INVISIBILIUM MELIUS IN OMNI  
XPI FILIUM DNI NOSTRI ILM QYI NOSTRI  
PURE ANTE OMNIA SAECULA DNM QYI DE DOCTRO  
NATUM NON FACTUM COM SUBSTANCIALEM  
PATRI PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT







Qui propter nos homines et salutem nos-  
 tram dicitur indit et incarnatus est de i pa-  
 tro et maria uirgine et humana cum  
 eccrucifixus est pro nobis supponit  
 pilatus et repultus est et resurrexit ter-  
 tiadie ascendit in caelum sedet ad dexte-  
 ram patris iterum uenturus est cum glo-  
 ria iudicare uiuos et mortuos cuius reg-  
 ni non erit finis et in spiritu sancto  
 et uiuificante ex patre pro clare sem-  
 cum patre et filio adorandum et con-  
 glorificandum qui locus est per istos pro-  
 phetas in unam catholicam et apostoli-  
 cam ecclesiam confitemur unum  
 baptismum remissionem in peccatorum  
 ex peccatis resurrectionem in mortuorum  
 et uitam futuri saeculi amen Sufficit ei  
 quidem ad plenam cognitionem pie-  
 tatis et confirmationem sapientis hoc  
 et salutare diuinae gratiae Symbolum  
 DE PATRE FILIO SPIRITU SCIENTIA PERFECTIO  
 ET DIUINA NATIO FIDELITER ACCI-  
 ENTIBUS PRESENTAT SED QUI INQUI-  
 RIT ACITE PROBARE PRAEDICATIONEM CO-  
 NANTER PER PROPRIAS HERESIS NOMINIS  
 CEI GENUERUNT HUIUSMODI INIURIAM  
 QUOD PRO NOBIS ET INDI SPENSATIONIS



PLATE XII.

Qui propter nos homines et salutem nostram discindit et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine et humanatus est et crucifixus est pro nobis sup Pontio Pilato et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die ascendit in caelos sedit<sup>1</sup> ad dexteram patris iterum uenturus est cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos cuius regni non erit finis et in spiritum sanctum dominum et uiuificantem ex patre procedentem<sup>2</sup>  
Cum patre et filio adorandum et conglorificandum qui loc[ut]us est per sanctos prophetas in unam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam confitemur unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum et uitam futuri saeculi amen Sufficeret quidem ad plenam cognitionem pietatis et confirmationem sapiens hoc et salutare diuinae gratiae symbolum  
DE PATRE ENIM ET FILIO ET SPIRITU SANCTO PERFECTIONEM DOCET et domini humanationem fideliter accipientibus repraesentat Sed quoniam hii qui ueritatis reprobare praedicationem conantes per proprias heresis nouas uoces genuerunt hii quidem mysterium quod pro nobis est domini dispensationis

<sup>1</sup> *sedet* corr.      <sup>2</sup> *procedentem* corr.







## EXPOSITIO FIDEI CL. SANCTORVM QVI CONSTANTINOPOLIM

CONGREGATI SVNT.

v.

**C**redimus in unum deum patrem omnipotentem Factorem caeli et  
 terrae uisibilium et inuisibilium Et in unum dominum Iesum  
 Christum filium dei Natum ex patre ante omnia saecula,  
 deum uerum de deo uero Natum non factum consubs-  
 tantialem patri per quem omnia facta sunt, Qui  
 propter nos homines et salutem nostram descendit,  
 Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et Maria uirgine et in-  
 humanatus est, Et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pon-  
 tio Pilato et sepultus est Et resurrexit tertia die  
 Ascendit ad caelos sedet ad dexteram patris Iterum  
 uenturus cum gloria Iudicare uiuos et mortuos,  
 cuius regni finis non erit Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et uiui-  
 ficantem ex patre procedentem cum patre et filio  
 adorandum et conglorificandum qui loquutus  
 est per sanctos prophetas, In unam catholicam et apos-  
 tolicam ecclesiam Confitemur unum baptismam  
 in remissione peccatorum Expectamus resurrec-

tione mortuorum uitam futuri saeculi amen.

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NOMINA EPISCOPORVM QVI SUBSCRIPSERVNT CL. EPISCOPI QVI IN EODEM.

EXPOSITIO FIDELI ET SCRO QUI CONSTITUTUM  
CONCRECATI SUNT. Amen

**C**REDIMUS IN UNUM Dñm patrem omnipotē factorem cæli et  
terre visibilium et invisibilium Et unum dñm iñm  
xp̄m filium dñi Natum ex patre ante omnia sæcula  
dñm uerum de dño uero Natum non factum consubs  
tantialem patri per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui  
propter nos homines et salutem nostram descendit  
et incarnatus est de sp̄sco et maria uirgine et in  
humanatus est. Et crucifixus est pro nobis sub pon  
tio pilato et sepultus est Et resurrexit tertia die  
ascendit ad cælos sedet ad dexteram patris iterum  
uenturus cum gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos  
cuius regni finis non erit Et in sp̄sco dñm et uiui  
ficantem ex patre procedentem cum patre et filio  
adorandum et conglorificandum qui loquutus  
est per s̄cōs prophetas. In una catholicam et apos  
tolicam ecclesiam Confitemur unum baptisma  
in remissione peccatorum Expectamus resurrex

tionem mortuorum uitam futuri sæculi Amen

Nomina ep̄orum qui subscripserunt Et ep̄i qui







fide praedicare atque defendere Quam sancta synodus  
 nichina firmavit dicens, Credimus in unum deum patrem  
 omnipotentem visibilium et invisibilium factorem Et in unum  
 dominum filium unigenitum Natum de patre inigenitum  
 hoc est de substantia patris de deo de lumine  
 de lumine de deo vero Natum non factum unius subs-  
 tantiae cum patre Quod graeci dicunt Omovsion  
 per quem omnia facta sunt siue quae in caelo siue  
 quae in terra Qui propter nostram salutem dis-  
 cendit in carnatus est et homo factus passus est

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resurrexit tertia die Ascendit in caelos Venturus  
 iudicare vivos et mortuos Et in saecula saeculorum, In qua pro-  
 fessione hoc evidentissime continetur Quos etiam nos

PLATE XIV.

fidem praedicare atque defendere Quam sancta synodus  
Nichenensis firmavit dicens, Credimus in unum deum patrem  
omnipotentem Visibilem et invisibilem factorem. Et in unum  
dominum nostrum Iesum filium dei Natum de patre unigenitum  
Hoc est de substantia patris deum de deo lumen de lumine  
Deum verum de deo vero Natum non factum unius subs-  
tantiae cum patre Quod Graeci dicunt omousion,  
Per quem omnia facta sunt siue quae in caelo siue  
quae in terra Qui propter nostram salutem dis-  
cendit incarnatus est et homo factus passus est

resurrexit tertia die Ascendit in caelos Venturus  
iudicare vivos et mortuos Et in spiritum sanctum. In qua pro-  
fessione, hoc evidentissime continetur Quos etiam nos







PLATE XV.

<mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui>

<alleluia quoniam>

<aruitus>

Os purificat, cor lētificat, terrē excelsam aedificat, homi-  
nem clarificat, sensus aperit. omne malum occidit. perfecti-  
onem instruit. excelsa demonstrat desiderium regni cēles-  
tis dat, pacem inter corpus et animam facit. Ignem spiri-  
talem in corde succendit, contra omnibus uitiiis sollicitudo est  
Certamen bonum cotidie est, Radicem malorum omnium  
expellit. sicut lurica induit, sicut. galea defendit. spes sa-  
lutis~~est~~. consolatio doloris, Refectio laboris. Notitia ueri lumi-  
nis. fons sanctitatis. hominem iuuenem castigat, Regnum dei  
super terram dat. Tedium anime detrahit. Tuba miralis  
est. qui diligit canticum psalmodiarum assidue non potest  
peccatum agere, qui habet laudem dei in corde suo. in  
postremo apud deum gaudebit. et animam suam in cēlo  
mirificabit in saecula saeculorum amen, FIDES SANCTI ATHANA-  
SII EPISCOPI ALEXANDRINI.

Quicumque uult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut  
teneat catholicam fidem, Quam nisi quisque integram  
inuiolatamque serua erit absque dubio in eternum peribit  
Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum deum in trini-  
tate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur, Neque con-  
fundentes personas neque substantiam separantes,  
Alia est enim persona patris. alia filii alia spiritus sancti. sed patris  
et filii et spiritus sancti una est diuinitas aequalis gloria coetern[a]  
maiestas, Qualis pater talis filius talis et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus,  
Increatus pater increatus filius increatus et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus, Inmen-  
sus pater inmensus filius inmensus et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus aeternus<sup>2</sup> pater

<sup>1</sup> *et* ras.

2 a ras.

in the Lugdunensis hominis et fuit

arug  
9  
9  
9

Os purificat, cor l&ificat. t&rem & celsam c&edificat, homi-  
nem clarificat. sensus aperit. omne scelum occidit. p&fecti-  
onem in struit. & celsae demonstrat desiderium regni celestis  
d&et, p&ccat inter corpus & animam fecit, Ignem spiritus  
s&cti in corde succendit, Contra omnes, ut ait sollicitudo  
c&et&em bonum cotidie est, Recedam meorum omnium  
& pellit. sicut luxa indur, sicut. & c&et&e defendit. Sp&ssa  
lucis consolatio doloris, Ref&ctio leboris. Not&e c&et&e lumi-  
nis. fons s&ct&etis. hominem iuvenem castiget, Regnum d&it  
sup& terram dat. Tedium anime d&reprehit. Tub&e mir&clis  
est. quid liget canticum p&selmorum. affiduc&e n& potest  
p&catum agere, Qui h&ec & l&eudem d&it in corde suo. in  
postremo apud d&um g&eudebit. & c&et&em suam in celo  
mirificabit in s&ct&e s&etorum Am&ni, filius s&cti. Am&ni

SII. epi ALEXANDRINI

**Q**uicumq; vult sc&lus esse ante om&a opus est ut  
t&neat catholicam fidem, Qu&e nisi quisq; integ&a  
inviol&e t&emq; s&er&u&rit ec&es&e dubio in g&en&u p&ssit  
Fides aut&em catholica h&ec& est ut unum d&um in t&ri-  
nit&te & t&rit&atem in unit&te ad&eremur, Neq; con-  
fundentes p&sonas neq; substantiam sep&erantes,  
Alia e& enim p&sona p&tris. alia filii. alia sp&s s&cti. sed p&tris  
& filii & sp&s s&cti una e& diunitas a&equ&alis gl&orie co&e-  
m&et&es t&es, Qu&alis p&ter t&clis filius t&clis, sp&s s&cti,  
In&creatus p&ter in&creatus filius in&creatus sp&s s&cti, Inm&en-  
sus p&ter inm&ensus filius inm&ensus sp&s s&cti, E&et&ernus p&ter







& unus filius. & unus sps scs, Et tamen n̄ tres cōdē rmi. sed unus  
 dñs, Sicut non tres increcti. n̄ tres immēsi. sed unus increctus  
 & unus immēsus, Similiter om̄s p̄ct̄. om̄s filius. om̄s sps scs.  
 Et tamen n̄ tres om̄ipotentēs. sed unus om̄ipotens, Itē dñs p̄ct̄. dñs  
 sps scs. Et tamen non tres dñi. sed unus est dñs, Itē dñs p̄ct̄.  
 dñs filius. dñs sps scs. Et tamen n̄ tres dñi. sed unus est dñs, Quia  
 sicut singillatim unam quēq; p̄sonam dñi & dñm confiteri  
 xp̄icē ueritate compellimur. Itē tres deos aut dominos  
 dici catholica religione prohibemur, P̄ct̄ a nullo ē factus.  
 n̄ crectus. n̄ genitus. Filius a p̄ct̄e solo ē. n̄ factus. n̄ cre-  
 ctus. sed genitus. Sps scs a p̄ct̄e & filio n̄ factus. n̄ crectus. n̄  
 genitus. sed procedens, Unus ergo p̄ct̄. n̄ tres p̄ct̄es. unus filius  
 non filii. unus sps scs. n̄ tres sps scs, Et in hac trinitate nihil prius  
 aut posterius nihil maius aut minus. sed totē tres p̄sonę cōglō-  
 m̄antur & cōcōequales, Itē ut p̄ om̄ia sicut icm sup̄dictum ē  
 & unitas in trinitate. & trinitas in unitate uenerandē sit.  
 Qui uult ergo saluus esse. ita de trinitate sentiat, Sed neces-  
 sarium est cōdē rmi. saluam, ut in cōfessionem quoque  
 dñi n̄i ih̄u xp̄i fideliter credat, Est ergo fides recta ut cre-  
 damus & confiteamur. quia dñs n̄r ih̄s xp̄s dñi fili-  
 us. dñs & homo est. Dñs est & substantia p̄ct̄is ante  
 sēcula genitus. & homo est & substantia matris  
 in sēto natus, P̄fectus dñs. p̄fectus homo. & cōnima-  
 tionē aeli. & humanē carne subsistens, De qua dñs  
 p̄ct̄i secundum diuinitatem. minor p̄ct̄i  
 humanitatem. Quia cōdē dñs sit & homo.  
 unus ē xp̄s. Unus autē n̄ cōuāsiō  
 carnis. sed cōdē p̄tior. a humanitate.  
 n̄ cōfusione substantiæ. sed p̄sonę, Nam sic cōmūne p̄ctio  
 aeli & caro unus est homo. Itē dñs & homo unus est xp̄s, Qui p̄cessus  
 est pro salute n̄re descendit ad inferos resurrexit a mortuis.

secundum  
 n̄ duo tamen p̄tē  
 ne diuinitatis in  
 modo, Vnus om̄i

## PLATE XVI.

eternus filius. eternus et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres aeterni. sed unus aeternus, Sicut non tres increati. nec tres inmensi. sed unus increatus et unus inmensus, Similiter omnipotens pater. omnipotens filius. omnipotens et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes. sed unus omnipotens, Ita deus pater deus fili[us] deus et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non tres dii. sed unus est deus, Ita dominus pater. dominus filius. dominus et<sup>1</sup> spiritus sanctus. et tamen non tres domini. sed unus est dominus, Quia sicut singillatim unam quamque personam deum et dominum. confiteri Christiana ueritate conpellimur. Ita tres deos aut dominos dici catholica relegione prohibemur, Pater a nullo est factus. nec creatus. nec genitus. Filius a patre solo est. non factus nec creatus. sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio non factus. nec creatus. nec genitus. sed procedens, Unus ergo pater. non tres patres. unus filius non <tres> filii. unus spiritus sanctus. non tres spiritus sancti, Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil maius aut minus. sed totę tres personę coęternę sibi sunt et coaequales, Ita ut per omnia sicut iam supradictum est et unitas in trinitate. et trinitas in unitate ueneranda sit, Qui uult ergo saluus esse. ita de trinitate sentiat, Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat, Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur. quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei filius. deus et homo est, Deus est ex substantia patris ante sæcula genitus. et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus, Perfectus deus. perfectus homo. ex anima rationali. et humana carne subsistens, Aequalis patri secundum diuinitatem. minor patri secundum humanitatem. Qui licet deus sit et homo. non duo tamen. sed unus est Christus, Unus autem non conuersione diuinitatis in carnem. sed adsumptione humanitatis in deo, Unus omnino non confusione substantiae. sed <unitate> personę, Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo. Ita deus et homo unus est Christus, Qui passus est pro salute nostra descendit ad inferos resurrexit a mortuis,

<sup>1</sup> et ras.







# PLATE XVII.

ascendit ad cēlos sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotenti[s]  
 Inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos, Ad cuius adue[n]-  
 tum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis  
 Et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem, Et qui bo[na]  
 egerunt. ibunt in uitam aeternam. et qui mala in ignem  
 aeternum, Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quisque fidel[iter]  
 <ac> firmiterque crediderit. saluus esse non poterit.

## <SIMPLICES(?)>

<ADF[IRMATIVA] [Est] iustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est iustus homo.>  
 <ADF[IRMATIVA] Est iniustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est iniustus homo.>  
 <ADF[IRMATIVA] Est non iustus homo. NEG[ATIVA] Non est non iustus homo.>  
 < >  
 < omnis homo iustus (?) est. NEG[ATIVA] non est omnis homo iustus>  
 < non est omnis homo non iustus ADF[IRMATIVA] est omnis homo non iustus>

<partes orationis quot sunt>

Ascendit cœlos sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotens  
 Inde venturus iudicare uiuos & mortuos, de cuius adu-  
 tumen omnes homines resurgere debent cum corporibus suis  
 Et redditi sunt de factis propriis retributionem. Et qui  
 egerunt. ibunt in uitam æternam. & qui malè & iniquè  
 cœlestium, hæc est fides catholica. quam nisi quisq. fidel-  
 iter & firmiterq. crediderit. felix esse non poterit.

partes orationes q̄ sunt









## PLATE XVIII.

Primum namque superbia genus est eorum qui per transgressionis culpam contemptu habent diuina praecepta. Secundum genus eorum est qui ex conseruatione mandatorum adtolluntur eleuatione uirtutum. Tertium genus eorum est qui per contumaciam mentis subdi dedignantur seniorum imperiis quae quidem uitia diuinitus adiuuante gratia h<i>is e contrario curantur uirtutibus. Gulae enim concupiscentiam repraemunt uigiliae. et conpunctio cordis. Fornicationem extinguet contritio cordis et corporis afflictio et oratio adsidua uel laboris exercitium metus quoque gehennae uel amor caelestis patriae. Inuidiam superat amor fraternae dilectionis et quoniam caeleste regnum non accipiunt nisi concordēs. Iram temperat patientia et ratio aequanimitatis. Auari<t>iam subiungat<u>g<u>at elimosina et spes aeternae retributionis. Tristitiam fraterna conloquia et consolatio scripturarum. Arrogantiam calcat metus ne uana gloria dilinitum animum a uir<tu>tibus cunctis se excludat. Et per iectantiam perdat semetipsum et pereat. Iam superbiam deprimat metus diabolicae ruinae absque exemplo humilitatis Christi.

Explicit liber sancti Isidori episcopi.

Ora pro me sepissimi deum caeli carissimi uti mea innumera Christus remittat crimina. amen.

deo gratias.

Fides sancti Athanassi episcopi Alexandriae

Quicumque ult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem quam nisi quisque integram inuolabilemque seruauerit absque du<bi>o peribit in aeternum. Fides autem catholica Haec est ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneramur. Neque confundantes personas neque substantia separantes. Alia est enim persona patris alia filii alia spiritus sancti. Sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una est diuinitas aequalis gloria

Col. i. l. 16. *Auaritiam] t supra lin.*

*subiungat] una littera rasa.*

Coaeterna maiestas qualis pater talis filius talis et spiritus sanctus increatus pater increatus filius increatus spiritus sanctus immensus pater immensus filius immensus spiritus sanctus aeternus pater aeternus filius aeternus spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus aeternus sic non tres increati non tres immensi sed unus increatus Et unus immensus

Similiter omnipotens pater omnipotens

filius omnipotens spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres omnipotens sed unus omnipotens. Ita deus pater deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres dii sed unus deus est. Ita et dominus pater dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres domini sed unus dominus est Quia sicut singillatim unum quamqu<e> personam et dominum et d<eu>m confiteri Christiana ueritate compellimur. Ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica relegione prohibemur. Pater a nullo factus nec creatus nec genitus filius a patre solo est nec factus nec creatus sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a patre et filio nec factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens. Unus ergo pater non tres patres unus filius non tres filii unus spiritus sanctus non tres spiritus sancti. In hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil maius aut minus sed totae tres personae. Coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales ita ut per omnia sicut iam supra dictum est et trinitas in unitate. Et unitas in trinitate ueneranda sit. Qui uult ergo saluus esse ita de trinitate sentiat sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideiter credat. est ergo fides recta ut credamus. et confiteamur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei filius et deus pariter et homo est. Deus est ex substantia patris ante saecula genitus et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo genitus. Perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens

Col. ii. l. 14. *qui...dominum scriptor, que...deum corr.*

Cod. Petriburg. Q.I. 15. fol. 63 recto.







PLATE XIX.

Aequalis patri perfectus deus secundum diuinitatem. Qui licet deus sit et homo non tamen duo sed unus est deus. unus autem non conuersatione diuinitatis in carne sed adsumptione humanitatis in deo. Unus omnino non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae.  
 Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo ita deus et homo unus Christus qui passus est pro salute nostra. descendit ad inferos  
 resurrexit a mortuis ascendit ad caelos  
 sedit ad dexteram patris inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos ad cuius aduentum  
 Habent resurgere omnes homines cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternam. Haec est fides catholica quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non poterit CHRISTI

•E

Edita uisurum externae nunc oppida terrae .  
 Retibus. ut nunquam gradiens uestigia frater .  
 Infandis hostis uallant quae castra perosi .  
 Atra graues pereant ne sic caelestia uota. .  
 Candida sed rutilent cordis praesagia donec .  
 Arbiter arcitenens superarit proelia dira .  
 Et miles supera gaudebit comptus in urbe.  
 Limpida famosum spectet per saecula tribunal  
 Iohannis caeli rimans mysteria caeli.

<EX MUSAEI PETRI DUBROWSKY>

<Parisiis 1792>

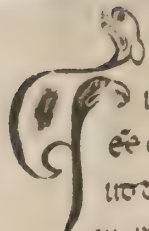
I	ohannis celsi rimans misteria cael I	I
O	bnixeque d<i>u laborat cum uiribus ultr O	O
H	ic imitare studens almis uirtutibus Enoc H	H
A	rcibus aether<e>is properat qui scandere templa	A
N	octis qua clarum non fuscant pallia lumen.	N
N	ec tenebris altum pertranant nibula culmen.	N
I	dcirco iugiter gaudet sapientia Christ I.	I
S	acra perfundi pulchri cheu nectaris haustis.	S
C	aelicolum mallens pasci caelestibus isti C	C
E	scis quam spurcae carnis subcumbere mensae	E
L	lurida quae trudit mentes ad tartara ni soL.	L
S	orte beans donis inlustret corda benigniS	S
I	nterea glauci pertranans aequora ponti.	I
R	ratibus inuisus qua est tempestatibus imber,	R
I	ictibus horrendis nautae dum fulmina spargi.	I
M	magna uident metuunt fessi disperdere uitam.	M
A	astamen intrepidus scrutatur mente serena.	A
N	on cessans Christi penetrabit pectore lumen.	N
S	sic igitur lector librorum carpere fructus.	S
M	ultimode recolens per latum nititur orbem.	M
Y	ymnizans que deum fatur sub cardine cael I.	I
S	sancio summatim paucis per famina uerbis	S
T	taliter exhortans ut mentem dicta peragrent.	T










 cum que uult saluare  
 esse uite omnia opus est  
 ut teneat catholicam pida  
 quam nisi quisque in teipsum  
 in uisio lumen quod per uisum quod ab ipso  
 subio per quod in uisum per quod  
 autem catholica haec quod ut unum  
 domini in teipsum de teipsum in  
 unitate uisum per quod neque con  
 fundit quod per quod neque sub  
 stantiam per quod. Alii quod  
 persona patris alii filii alii spiritus  
 sancti per quod & filii & spiritus sancti una  
 est diuinitas equalis gloria  
 co aeterna maiestas qualis pa  
 ter & filius & spiritus sanctus & spiritus sanctus  
 in creatur pater in creatur fili  
 us in creatur & spiritus sanctus in maius  
 pater in maius filius in maius  
 spiritus sanctus & spiritus sanctus pater aet  
 ernus filius eternus spiritus sanctus  
 & tamquam in quod aeterni per unum  
 aeternus sicut in quod in crea  
 tur nec in maius per unum in  
 creatur & unum in maius.  
 si in maius omnipotens pater

omnipotens filius omnipotens spiritus  
 sanctus & tamquam in quod omnipotens  
 per unum omnipotens ita dicitur pater  
 dicitur filius dicitur spiritus sanctus & tamquam in quod  
 dicitur unum dicitur ita dicitur pater  
 dicitur filius dicitur & spiritus sanctus & tamquam in quod  
 in quod domini per unum quod dicitur  
 quia sicut in illa unam quam  
 quod per quod ad deum & deum con  
 fiteamur christum uisum compelli  
 mur ita in quod deus autem in quod dominus  
 dicere catholica nelectione pro  
 hibemus pater in nullo quod  
 pater nec creatur nec generatur  
 filius a patre solo in factus nec  
 creatus sed generatur in factus a pa  
 tre a filio in factus nec  
 creatur nec generatur per procedens  
 unus quod quod pater non quod pater  
 unus filius non quod filii unus spiritus  
 sanctus non quod spiritus sanctus in hac in teipsum  
 unitate nihil per quod aut per quod  
 nihil quod maius aut minus per do  
 ctore in quod per quod coeternae  
 sibi in quod & coequalis ita per quod  
 omnia sicut in quod per quod in quod

PLATE XX.

Quicumque uult saluus  
 esse ante omnia opus est  
 ut teneat catholicam fidem  
 quam nisi quisque integram  
 inuiolatamque seruauerit absque  
 dubio peribit in aeternum fides  
 autem catholica haec est ut unum  
 deum in trinitate et trinitate < > in  
 unitate ueneremur neque con-  
 fundentes personas neque sub-  
 stantiam separantes. ali<a>enim est  
 persona patris alia filii alia spiritus  
 sancti sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una  
 est diuinitas equalis gloria  
 coaeterna maiestas qualis pa-  
 ter talis filius talis et spiritus sanctus  
 increatus pater increatus fili-  
 us increatus et spiritus sanctus immensus  
 pater immensus filius immen-  
 sus spiritus sanctus eternus pater ae-  
 ternus filius eternus spiritus sanctus.  
 Et tamen non tres aeterni sed unus  
 aeternus sicut non tres increa-  
 ti nec tres inmensi sed unus in-  
 creatus et unus immensus.  
 Similiter omnipotens pater

Col. i. lin. 8. *m* eras. ?

omnipotens filius omnipotens spiritus  
 sanctus Et tamen non tres omnipotens  
 sed unus omnipotens ita deus pater.  
 deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres  
 dii sed unus <est> deus ita dominus pater  
 dominus filius dominus et spiritus sanctus et tamen  
 non tres domini sed unus est dominus  
 quia sicut singillatim unam quam-  
 que personam ad deum et dominum con-  
 fiteri Christiani ueritate conpelli-  
 mur ita tres deos aut tres dominos  
 dicere catholica relegione pro-  
 hibemur Pater a nullo est  
 factus nec creatus nec genitus  
 filius <a patre solo est non factus nec  
 creatus. sed genitus spiritus sanctus a pa-  
 tre et filio non factus nec>  
 creatus nec genitus sed procedens  
 unus est ergo pater non tres patres  
 unus filius non tres filii unus spiritus  
 sanctus non tres spiritus sancti <et> in hac enim tri-  
 nitate nihil prius aut posterius  
 nihil est maius aut minus sed to-  
 tae tres personae coaeternae  
 sibi sunt. Et coaequales ita ut per  
 omnia sicut iam supra dictum est

Col. ii. lin. 15-17 in rasur.  
 lin. 21 *et* supra lin.







## PLATE XXI.

<c casus est periculo>

<et unitas in trinitate uene-  
randi sit. Qui uult ergo saluus  
esse. > ita de trinitate  
sentiat sed necessarium est ad  
aeternam salutem ut incar-  
nationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi  
fideliter credat est ergo fides  
recta ut credamus ut confite-  
amur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus dei fi-  
lius et deus pa< >riter et homo est  
deus ex substantia patris <hoc> in sae-  
culo natus perfectus perf<ectus> ho-  
mo ex anima rationabili et hu-  
mana carne subsistens aequa-  
lis patri secundum diuinitatem  
minor patri secundum huma-  
nitatem quia licet deus sit et homo  
non tatem duo sed unus est <Christus>  
unus autem conuer<si>one diui-  
nitat<i>s in carne sed adsumpti-  
one humanitatis in deo unus om-  
nino <in> confusione substan-  
tiae sed unitate personae nam  
sicut anima rationabilis et ca-  
ro unus est homo ita deus et homo  
unus est Christus qui passus est pro

salutae nostra descendit ad infe-  
ros et resurrexit a mortuis ascendit  
ad inferos et resurrexit in caelos  
sedit ad dexteram dei patris omni-  
potentis inde uenturus iudicare  
uiuos et mortuos ad cuius aduentum  
habent resurgere omnes homines  
cum corporibus suis et reddituri  
sunt de factis propriis rationem et  
qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam ae-  
ternam nam qui mala in ignem ae-  
ternam haec est fides catholica  
quam nisi quis fideliter firmiter-  
que crediderit saluus esse non poterit.

**I**N nomine Iesu Christi domini nostri conti-  
nentur hoc in codice.

Omelias a sancto Agustino episcopo editae  
ad populum anni per curriculum  
totum unde hoc orditur breuiarium

- i. Omelia ante dies x. aut xv. de nata-
- ii. le domini dicenda. Item Omelia ante natale domini
- iii. Item alia. Item alia
- iiii. Omelia de natale domini
- v. Item alia. <vi.> Item alia
- vii. Omelia in natale sancti Stephani primi martiris
- viii. Item alia de eodem die.

Col. i. ll. 1-3. in ras.  
,, l. 10. *t* ras.  
,, l. 11. *h* supra lin.  
,, l. 12. *fectus* supra lin.  
,, l. 18. *Christus* in ras.  
,, l. 19. *sati* ras.

Col. i. l. 19. *si* in ras.  
,, l. 20. *e* scriptor, *i* corr.  
,, l. 22. *non* ras.  
,, l. 22. *non* scriptor.  
Col. ii. l. 2, 3. expunct.

c. casus est periculo

diuinitas in trinitate uene-  
 randis. Qui uult ergo saluus  
 esse. ita de quantitate  
 patriat. sed necq. sapium q. ad  
 uetq. in un. salutem ut in cap.  
 nationem quoque dñi nři hñ xpi  
 fideliter credat. et q. q. p. d. q.  
 p. a. u. t. e. p. e. d. u. m. u. t. e. c. o. n. p. i. t. e.  
 a. m. u. i. q. u. i. a. d. n. r. i. i. h. i. x. p. i. d. i. p. i.  
 l. u. i. d. i. p. a. p. i. t. e. r. & h. o. m. o. e. s. t.  
 d. i. x. p. u. b. i. c. a. r. i. a. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. n. i. a. e.  
 c. i. l. o. n. a. t. u. r. p. e. p. e. c. t. u. r. p. e. h. o.  
 m. o. e. x. a. n. i. m. a. r. a. t. i. o. n. a. b. i. l. i. & h. u.  
 m. a. n. a. c. a. r. n. e. p. u. b. i. c. i. t. e. m. p. a. e. q. u. a.  
 l. i. p. a. t. r. i. p. e. c. u. n. d. u. m. d. i. u. i. n. i. t. a. t. e.  
 i. n. n. o. p. i. p. a. t. r. i. p. e. c. u. n. d. u. m. h. u. m. a.  
 n. i. t. a. t. e. m. q. u. i. a. l. i. c. e. t. d. i. p. r. o. & h. o. m. o.  
 n. o. n. t. a. t. e. m. d. u. o. p. a. d. u. n. u. s. e. r. t. & p.  
 u. n. u. s. a. u. t. e. m. c. o. n. u. q. u. i. s. i. o. n. e. d. i. u. i.  
 n. i. t. a. t. e. s. i. n. c. a. r. n. e. p. e. d. a. d. s. u. m. p. t. i.  
 o. n. e. h. u. m. a. n. i. t. a. t. i. s. i. n. d. o. u. n. u. s. o. m. n. i.  
 n. o. i. n. c. o. n. s. u. r. i. o. n. e. p. u. b. i. c. a. n. t. i.  
 t. u. e. p. e. d. u. n. i. t. a. t. e. p. a. r. i. o. n. e. n. a. m.  
 p. i. c. u. t. a. n. i. m. a. r. a. t. i. o. n. a. b. i. l. i. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. n. i. a. e.  
 p. r. o. u. n. u. s. q. u. i. s. t. h. o. m. o. i. t. a. d. i. & h. o. m. o.  
 u. n. u. s. q. u. i. s. t. x. p. i. s. q. u. i. p. a. t. r. i. s. t. i. n. i. a. e. p. r. o. p. r. i. o.

palutae nostrae diuinitate ad impe-  
 rior & perupprexat amonitum apcndra  
 ad imperior & perupprexat in caeloy  
 pedit ad dextera dñi paxip omni  
 potentis in deuiturur ludicape  
 uuior & moxior aduuiy aduicium  
 habent perupprexat omniq. hominq.  
 cum conpouibuy ruiy & pedituruy  
 rō depuctur ppoppiy rationem &  
 quibona gerunt ibunt inuitamae  
 tepnam nam quimala inignemae  
 tepnam haec est p d q catholica  
 quam nři quip fideliter p p m t q  
 q: credi d q ut paluuy eē n p o t e p t.

**I**n nomine ihu xpi dñi nři conti-  
 narup hoc in codice.  
 Omeliar apcō agurano qñr editae  
 ad populum annipercup piculum  
 totum unde hoc opuscup b p e u a p u i  
 Omēt ante dñq. x. aut. r u d e r a t a  
 l e d n i d i c e n d a. I t e m o m ē t. a t e n t d n i  
 t e m a l i a. I t e m a l i a.  
 m e l i a d e n a t a l e d n i  
 t e m a l i a. I t e m a l i a  
 m e t i n o t r e i t e p h a n i p p u m i n a p t o  
 i t e a l i a d e o d i c e







[illegible]

PLATE XXII.

accipientes scutum fidei Et ille pro aureis aerea facit qui sub-  
 stracta fidei ueritate solum degenerare reddit ex confessione tinni-  
 tum. Et cum deuotus uideatur in numero tamen reus inuenitur  
 ex uoto id quod non credit confitendo. de quibus quidem dixisse  
 beatus apostolus suspicandus est habentes speciem pietatis  
 et uirtutem eius abnegantes. nonne uidetur tibi uirtus in auro et  
 species in aere posse sentiri. sed optamus adsertionem profe-  
 ticam custodire. ut ante pedes equorum regis qui nisi episcupi  
 nostri adque doctores sunt quorum pedes ueloces sunt  
 super montes euangelizantes pacem fidei nostrae scuta  
 ponamus. tricenta autem aurea scuta siue beata trinitatis  
 fides siue omnium creaturarum satio caeli terrae et ma-  
 ris cursores autem qui ante pedes equorum ponunt ea illi cre-  
 dendi sunt qui potuerunt dicere Cursum consummaui qua  
 instituti lege ut usque ad finem seruare possimus ne illa Susacim  
 rex Aegypti hoc est diabolus a templo nostri cordis abstraxisset (?)  
 excubent suffragia orationum tuarum ad Iesum Christum dominum  
 nostrum cui gloria in saecula saeculorum est finit amen deo gratia

Qui cumque uult esse saluus ante omnia opus est ut  
 teneat catholicam fidem quam nisi quis inti-  
 gram inuiolatamque seruauerit absque dubio  
 in aeternum peribit. fides autem catholica haec est  
 ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate  
 ueneremur neque confudentes personas neque substanti-  
 am separantes. alia est enim persona patris alia per-  
 sona filii alia persona spiritus sancti <sed patris et fili et spiritus sancti> una  
 est diuinitas aequa-  
 lis gloria coaeterna maiestas. qualis pater talis  
 filius talis et spiritus sanctus. increatus pater increatus filius  
 increatus spiritus sanctus. immensus pater immensus filius in-  
 mensus spiritus sanctus. aeternus pater aeternus filius aeter-  
 nus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. aeterni. sed unus aeternus

1. 26. *sed—sancti* supra lin.







PLATE XXIII.

[sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi sed un]us [immensus] et  
 [unus incre]atus [similiter] omnipotens pater omnipotens filius  
 omnipotens spiritus sanctus et non tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens. ita deus pater  
 deus filius deus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. dii. sed unus deus. ita dominus pater  
 dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus et tamen non iii. domini. sed unus dominus. quia si  
 cut singillatim unamquamque personam et deum et dominum confiteri  
 Christiana ueritate conpellimur ita tres deos aut dominos dicere  
 catholica religione prohibemur. pater a nullo est factus nec  
 creatus nec genitus filius a patre solo est non factus nec cre-  
 atus sed genitus spiritus sanctus a patre et filio non factus nec creatus  
 nec genitus sed procedens patri et filio coaeternus est  
 unus ergo pater non tres patres unus filius non iii. filii unus  
 spiritus sanctus non iii. spiritus sancti. et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut pos-  
 terius nihil maius aut minus sed totae tres personae coaeter-  
 nae sibi sunt et coaequales ita ut per omnia sicut iam  
 supradictum est et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinita-  
 te ueneranda sit qui uult ergo saluus esse ita de trinitate  
 sentiat sed neccessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut  
 incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat est ergo  
 fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia dominus noster Iesus Christus  
 dei filius et deus pariter et homo est deus est ex substantia pa-  
 tris <ante saecula genitus>. homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus per-  
 fectus deus perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana  
 carne subsistens aequalis patri secundum diuinitatem minor  
 patre secundum humanitatem qui licet deus sit et homo non  
 duo tamen sed unus est Christus. unus autem non conuers< >ione diui-  
 nitatis in carne sed adsumptione hum<a>nitatis in deo. unus omni-  
 no non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae nam  
 sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo ita deus et homo  
 unus est Christus qui passus est pro salute nostra descendit ad in-  
 [feros] surrexit a mortuis ascendit ad caelos sedit ad dexte-  
 [ram] patris inde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos ad cuius  
 aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent in corporibus  
 suis et reddituri sunt.

l. 22. *ante s.g.* in marg.  
 l. 26. duae litterae ras.

100







[illegible]

de factis propriis rationem et qui bona egerunt [ibunt in uitam]  
aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternum. haec est fides ca[tholica]  
quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non [pote-]  
rit. Lacta mater eum qui fecit te quia talem fecit te ut ip[ ]  
in te. Lacta eum qui fructum foecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus  
et decus uirginitatis non abstulit natus. Incipit de ascensione

domini nostri Iesu Christi sermo dicendus.

**D**omini nostri Iesu Christi aduentus ac discensio multas fratres carissimi nobis  
praestitit festiuitates nascitur enim primum. magis osten-  
ditur post paulo. patitur. resurgit. ascendit. ut nos cum eo nas-  
ceremur. ac cum tripertitis muneribus nobis ostensum ado-  
raremur similiter crucifixi cum eo resurgentesque a mortuis cum  
illo apud illum per illum ad patrem ascenderemus in caelos haec  
nobis praestat Christi humilis dignatio et ideo uel nunc eadem  
nobis operatur et in<e>ffabili sacramento semper antiqua innouat  
beneficia nascamur itaque primum et nos in dei filios hoc est  
baptismi sacramenta seruemus et in uirtutum pulchritudine  
dei natiuitatem inlibatam custodiamus ad hoc enim filius dei  
unicus natus est ut deo filios gratia faceret. secundo. si filii dei  
sumus unicum dei filium qui est deus uerus cum triplici honore uene-  
remur et trea munera diuina regalia humana ei mystice  
offe<ra>mus quia deus est tus ei deifico cultu fidelis fumi hoc est ora-  
tionis indeclinabilis uaporem calorem ut debitum reddamus  
qui  
quia rex est auro cumul<a>ndus est aurum sepe pro sensu accipimus  
<sensu> aureo ergo hoc est perfecto scientiae dona regi uero<off>eramus  
[ ]er sic de illo sentiamus ut quidquid sumus quidquid habe-  
mus totum ei debemus <ipse intellege?> a quo esse habemus et tributa ei a quo [ ]  
mur non solum homines sed et omnes caelorum militiae soluamus  
fidem quoque hominis eius non negemus ut trea dona offerendo  
placeamus ac ad nostram patriam redire mereamur tertio mor-  
tifican<do> uolun<ta>tes crucifigamur. Cum uero dissurgant cum illo e-  
ius gentes Cum eodem ascendere mereamur ad caelos hoc  
diei huius opus est haec hodierni uirtus est ut siquis [ ] de  
morte surrexit ascendat surge qui dormis [et ex]surg[e]  
a mortuis dicit apostolus et cont[inges] Christum

l. 15. *e* super lin.

l. 22. *ra* in marg.

l. 24. *e* ut uidetur scriptor, *a* corr. ? *sepe* scriptor, corr. fortasse *quippe*.

l. 25. *sensu* in marg. *off.* super lin. in ras.

l. 27. *ipse intellige* (?) super lin.

l. 31. *do, ta* super lin.















